

PETRI PRIVILEGIUM.

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'PETRI PRIVILEGIUM:

THREE PASTORAL LETTERS TO THE
CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE

BY

HENRY EDWARD *Manning*

ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

Πᾶσι τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου φωνῆς ἐρμηνεύς καθιστάμενος.

EPIST. CONCIL. CHALCED. AD S. LEON. MAGN.
Concil. Labbe, tom. iv. p. 1235.

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1871.

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‘Soliditas enim illius fidei, quæ in Apostolorum principe est laudata, perpetua est: et sicut permanet quod in Christo Petrus credidit, ita permanet quod in Petro Christus instituit.

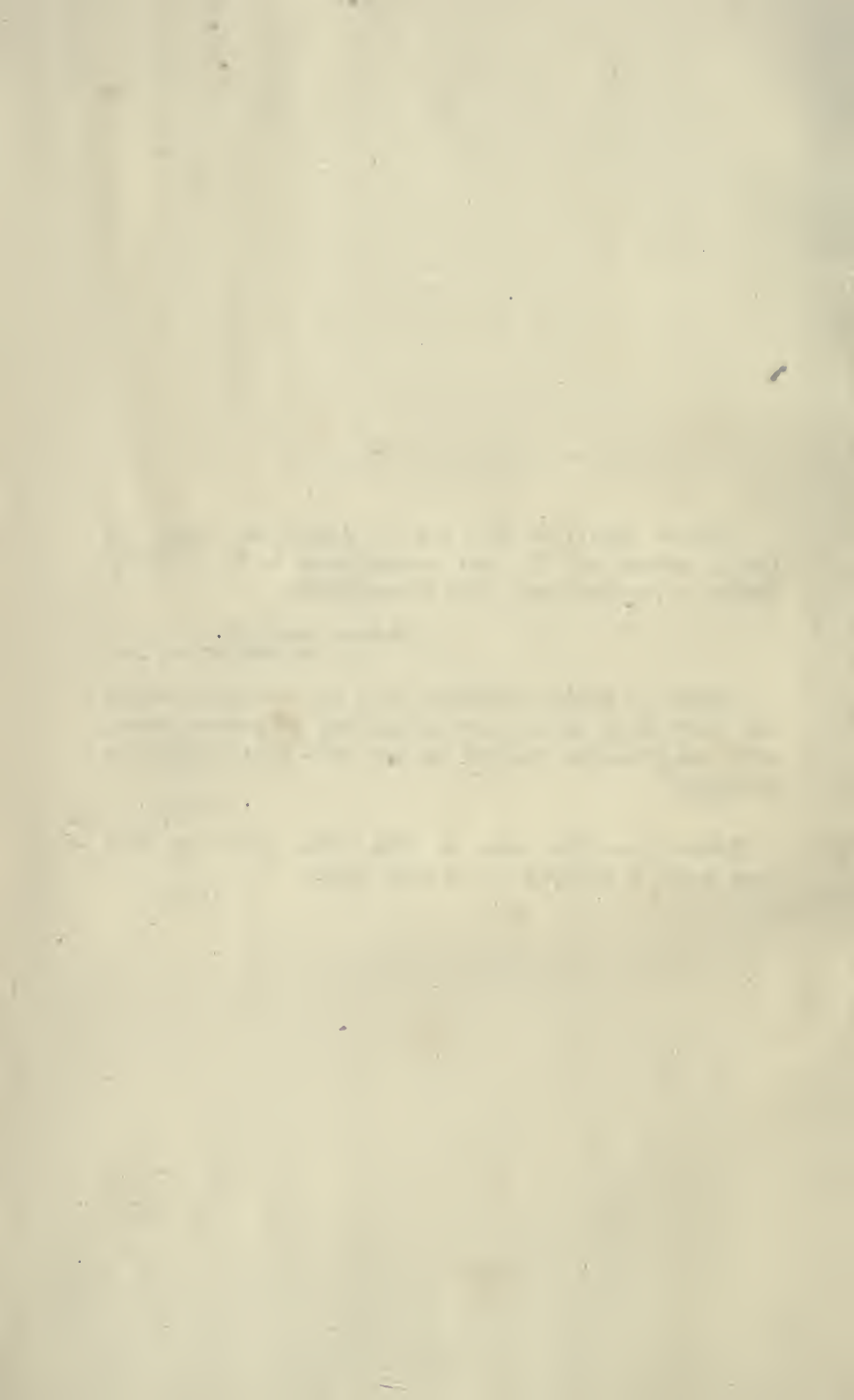
S. LEO MAGN. SERM. lii. 2,
Ed. Ballerini, Venet. 1753.

Magnum et mirabile, dilectissimi, huic viro consortium potentiae suæ tribuit divina dignatio: et si quid cum eo commune cæteris voluit esse principibus, nunquam nisi per ipsum dedit quicquid aliis non negavit.

. *Ibid.* iv. 2.

Soliditas enim illa, quam de Petra Christo etiam ipse Petra factus accepit, in suos quoque se transfudit hæredes.’

Ibid. iv. 4.



P R E F A C E.

THE three PASTORAL LETTERS, now collected in one volume, were written at separate times, and contain three distinct parts of the same subject ; that is to say, the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

The first, which treats of the eighteenth Centenary of St. Peter's martyrdom, simply affirms the doctrine of Infallibility as it has been enunciated and taught by the Theological tradition of the Church.

The second traces the line of the historical tradition by which the same Catholic doctrine has been affirmed.

The third states and explains the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff as it has been defined by the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican.

Taken as a whole the three Pastorals present at least an outline of this revealed truth, now happily for ever placed beyond controversy or doubt by the divine authority of the Church.

They record, also, the indiction, the prelude, and the first four sessions of the first Council of the Vatican, the nineteenth Œcumenical Synod of the Catholic Church, which will leave its indelible mark upon the future, as the Council of Trent has left its impression upon the past and present, of the Christian world.

CHRISTMAS 1870.

CONTENTS.

Moral significance of the Centenary, 4; Five Special Acts, 5; Words of the Sovereign Pontiff on June 17, 1867, 6; Assembling of the Bishops, 9; The Centenary and the Council of Trent, 12; Visitation of the *Limina Apostolorum*, 15; Petrus in suis successoribus vivit et praesidet et iudicium exercet (Concil. Ephes. sess. iii.), 16.

Privilegia Petri, four propositions from Scripture, universal tradition, the Fathers, and Councils, 17; Three classes of evidence for the infallibility of the Church, 21; Infallibility active and passive, 23; *Cathedra Petri*, 24; The supreme office of teaching and ruling, 27.

Allocution of the Sovereign Pontiff, June 26, 1867, 28; Answer of the Bishops, 30; Their recognition of the Supreme and Plenary office of the successor of St. Peter, 34; Allegations of Protestant critics, 35; the Encyclical of 1864, 37.

Nationalism and Gallicanism, 41; Condemned by Innocent XI. in 1682, and Alexander VIII. in 1691, 47; the Church in France of to-day, 53; The ordinary medium of Divine Faith, 57; Decrees *ex Cathedra*, 59.

'The order of truth is abiding,' St. Leo., 67; Reasons for convoking the General Council, 69; The Supreme Pontiff and General Councils, 71; The evidence of the first six General Councils, 73.

The Council of Trent, 75; Popular misunderstandings, 77; Two elements of the discipline of the Church, 81; The order of nature and the order of grace, 83.

The Christian society of the world menaced, 85; The wounds of the past, 87; The Protestant Reformation, 89; *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*, 91; The Pope in presence of a hostile world, 103.

Public Documents of the Centenary.

1. Allocution of His Holiness, June 26, 1867, 109.
2. Homily of His Holiness, June 29, 1867, 116.
3. Salutation or address of the Bishops, July 1, 120.
4. Reply of His Holiness, 139.

THE
CENTENARY OF SAINT PETER
AND
THE GENERAL COUNCIL:

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CLERGY

&c.

BY
HENRY EDWARD
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

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REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,—

I should not rightly fulfil the office which binds me to you, and to the flock committed to my charge, if I were not to endeavour to make you share, so far as I am able, in the great events which have marked the Eighteenth Centenary of S. Peter's Martyrdom. I need hardly tell you that, next after the feeling of joy which filled my mind, as I looked upon the assembly of more than half the bishops of the world gathered around the throne of the Vicar of our Lord, there was nothing more present to me than the wish that you could have been eye-witnesses, with me, of these great acts of the Church; or, at least, that I might be able to convey to you somewhat of the consolation, confidence, and light which I trust they bestowed on me. This I will endeavour now to do. But at the outset I must disclaim both the intention and the power to set before you any adequate picture of the beauty, majesty, and splendour of those solemnities. I can only say that all was proportionate to the greatest kingdom upon earth, the Holy Catholic Church. Of all that spoke to the eye, therefore, I shall be silent. I could not describe it if

I would; and I leave it to others who have the gifts of observation, and memory, and delineation required for the task. Some have already written of these great solemnities; others will do so hereafter. I shall confine myself entirely to that which did not meet the eye. I mean the moral significance, and, I may say, the moral beauty, majesty, and splendour of the late events in Rome.

The first thought which arose in my mind was the contrast of the spectacle displayed on the Janiculum eighteen hundred years ago, and the solemnity then before me in S. Peter's. On the day of the martyrdom of the Apostle, the people of Rome hurried with rude and cruel curiosity across the Tiber. A multitude of faces, distorted by hate and passion, surrounded the cross of Peter. There, tradition says, he hung head downwards in shame and agony. The other day, pastors and faithful from all the world came up to his tomb on the same Janiculum, and surrounded in loving veneration the throne of his successor. In this victory of the Cross, and in the perpetuity of the victory, there is the hand of God revealed. No human power could so change the will in man.

Although I feel it impossible to describe the events of those days, nevertheless there are five acts so marked in their character that I may at least enumerate them:

First, was the Procession on the Festival of Corpus Christi, in which the Sacrament of our Lord's Pre-

sence was borne in the hands of His Vicar, attended by half the episcopate of the Catholic Church:

Secondly, the Consistory, in which the Sovereign Pontiff announced his intention to convene an Œcumenical Council:

Thirdly, the eighteenth Centenary of S. Peter's Martyrdom, held over the tomb of the Apostle. The splendour and beauty of that solemnity was probably never equalled. It was royal and pontifical in all the fulness of majestic grandeur.

Fourthly, was the Feast of S. Paul in his Basilica out of the walls, where the relics of the Apostle of the Gentiles are enshrined. This Basilica, which for grace and beauty surpasses S. Peter's as much as it is surpassed by S. Peter's for majesty and grandeur, was once under the protection of the kings of England. Since the unhappy schism of our country, no protector has been named. S. Paul's still awaits a happier time.

Lastly, on the following day, the Holy Father gave audience to the bishops, to receive from them the Address or Response, in which they united themselves in heart and mind to their supreme Head. The gravity and moral grandeur of that act we shall endeavour to estimate hereafter. When the address had been read, and when the Holy Father was about to bestow the Apostolical benediction and bid farewell to the bishops, the Angelus of noon sounded. He rose, and began the Angelical Salutation, half the bishops of the world responding. Such a Salutation

was, perhaps, never before offered to the Mother of God on earth. At Ephesus there were four hundred and thirty bishops, but the Vicar of her Divine Son was not there. So, simply and grandly, ended the Centenary of 1867.

There was, however, one other event over which I cannot pass in silence. The 17th of June was the anniversary of the Pope's creation. After the Mass in the Sistine, the Holy Father went to unvest in the Pauline Chapel. The Cardinal Vicar, in the name of the Sacred College, made the usual address of congratulation, ending with the words that they wished the Holy Father 'health and many years to see the peace and triumph of the Church.' His Holiness immediately answered, in words which, unfortunately, were not taken down; but as nearly as possible they were as follows:— 'I accept your good wishes from my heart, but I remit their verification to the hands of God. We are in a moment of great crisis. If we look only to the aspect of human events, there is no hope; but we have a higher confidence. Men are intoxicated with dreams of unity and progress; but neither is possible without justice. Unity and progress based on pride and egotism are illusions. God has laid on me the duty to declare the truths on which Christian Society is based, and to condemn the errors which undermine its foundations. And I have not been silent. In the Encyclical of 1864, and in that which is called the Syllabus, I declared to the world the

dangers which threaten Society, and I condemned the falsehoods which assail its life. That act I now confirm in your presence, and I set it again before you as the rule of your teaching. To you, Venerable Brethren, as Bishops of the Church, I now appeal to assist me in this conflict with error. On you I rely for support. When the people of Israel wandered in the wilderness, they had a pillar of fire to guide them in the night, and a cloud to shield them from the heat by day. You are the pillar and the cloud to the people of God. By your teaching you must guide the faithful in the darkness; by your example you must shield them from the burning sun of this world. I am aged and alone, praying on the mountain; and you, the Bishops of the Church, are come to hold up my arms. The Church must suffer, but it will conquer. "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine. For there shall be a time"—and that time is come—"when they will not endure sound doctrine." The world will contradict you, and turn from you; but be firm and faithful. "For I am even now ready to be sacrificed, and the time of my dissolution is at hand." "I have," I trust, "fought a good fight," and "have kept the faith:" and there is laid up for you, and I hope for me also, "a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just Judge, will render to me at that day." The power and emotion with which these words were spoken moved every one who heard them.

There is, perhaps, hardly any Pontiff who has governed the Church with more frequent exercises of supreme authority than Pius the Ninth. The creation of Hierarchies, the definition of the Immaculate Conception, the declarations on the Temporal Power, the condemnations in the Encyclical of 1864, manifest, in a singular degree, the plenitude of his supreme office as the Ruler and Doctor of the Universal Church. Nevertheless there is, perhaps, no Pontiff who has united the whole episcopate so closely to himself, or has called them so often to his side. In 1854 the bishops were invited to assist at the declaration of the dogma, for which the whole Church had so long waited with desire. Two hundred and fifty assembled about his throne in witness of the faith of the Universal Church in the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Mother; and bore home to their flocks the pious belief of their hearts as an article of faith defined by the Vicar of her Divine Son.

Again, in 1862, when the conflict of the temporal power was at its highest, Pius the Ninth proclaimed the canonisation of the martyrs of Japan, and invited the bishops once more to Rome. About two hundred bishops obeyed his bidding, and, in words never to be forgotten, united themselves to him in the conflict he had so long sustained for the rights and liberties of the Holy See; which are the rights and liberties of the Universal Church.

And now a third time he has summoned the bishops of the whole world. You will all remember

when the intention was first made known. It was when the two years of the Convention were expiring; when all human help was departing from him, and men thought the time was come for the downfall of the temporal power. The French armies were to be withdrawn in December 1866. Then it was that the Holy Father invited the bishops of the world to surround him in Rome in June 1867. Men of the world counted it to be madness. While they were prophesying revolution, anarchy, and I know not what, the Holy Father, with calm confidence in God, began to make preparations for celebrating the Centenary of S. Peter's Martyrdom over the tomb of the Apostle. The event has justified his confidence, and taught a lesson both to the world and to ourselves: to us, that we be more courageous, and to the world, that it be less pretentious in its prophecies. It has manifested, with an evidence which no one has dared to deny, the life and the power of the Catholic Church. We had been listening to daily discourses on the decline and fall of the Church as a power among the nations. At the moment when men were exchanging gifts and congratulations, as they believed, over its dead body, the Head of the Church spoke, and the bishops, literally from the four winds of heaven, assembled round him. It was not a command, it was not even an injunction; it was a simple invitation, an expression of his wish. Five hundred bishops, with a multitude of the priesthood and faithful of the Church, came up from north, south,

east, and west, over land and sea, to the Successor of S. Peter. There were bishops from China, and the far east of Asia; from California, and the far west of America; from the far north of Tartary, and of Canada; from Australia and the islands of the Southern seas. There were present the chief pastors of at least thirty races and nations. No voice but one in all the world could have called together such an assembly—the voice of the successor of Peter, to whom the whole world was committed, of the Vicar of Him to whom ‘all power in heaven and on earth is given.’

It is not, then, in the majesty and splendour which meets the eye that the magnitude and grandeur of this event is to be measured. Taken only as a demonstration of moral power, and of the superiority of the moral over the material order of the world, the assembly in Rome at this moment, in the face of all menace of wars and of revolutions, has surely a significance far wider and deeper than any event in our times. More than this: no event, since the last General Council was closed, has manifested so luminously to the intellect, and, I may say, so palpably to the sense, the unity, universality, unanimity, and authority of the only true Church on earth. I am not only bound, but glad, to acknowledge the truthfulness, justice, and candour of those who, though not of the Catholic Church, have written from Rome the description of what they saw. With one or two exceptions, not worthy of notice, their narratives

have been honourable, manly, and straightforward. Certainly the late events in Rome ought to awaken in any Christian heart a noble and a generous sympathy. They were an exhibition of the Christian Faith and Church in acts of Divine worship, and of charity to all mankind, divested of every accent of controversy. Whosoever believes in Christianity and desires the spread of the kingdom of our Divine Lord upon earth, must have a sympathy in the great assembly of the Church the other day. Even those who are separated from the Catholic and Roman Church recognise it as the great foundation of Christendom. They who reject parts of its doctrine hold the Creed of the Apostles, which it has guarded from the beginning; they who rest their faith upon Councils, Fathers, and Scriptures, know that the custody of all these is ultimately in the Catholic Church. They who repose their Christianity upon the testimony and facts of history, know that the last and highest witness for the Christian revelation, in its succession and even in its origin, is the Catholic and Roman Church. It is impossible, therefore, that they can look without sympathy upon this majestic demonstration of its indefectible life and immutable identity.

It may without exaggeration be said, not only that, since the Council of Trent, no such manifestation of the unity and universality of the Church has been seen, but that the eighteen years of interrupted and lingering toil of that Council in a valley of the

Tyrol never exhibited at any time such a demonstration of the world-wide organisation and central authority of the Church as these last three weeks in Rome. Trent is not the tomb of the Apostle. Legates presided there: here was the Vicar of our Lord in person. At the Council of Trent, hardly a hundred bishops were present: on the Centenary of S. Peter's Martyrdom, five hundred bishops of the Church surrounded the throne of his successor. But it may be said that the Centenary was but a pageant: the Council of Trent is a power, which for three hundred years has governed the Church. This is most true: nor can three days be compared with three hundred years; nor a Canonisation and a few Allocutions be weighed against eighteen years of supreme authority in defining the faith and legislating for the Church. Let us compare, therefore, this great Pontifical act only with the visible manifestations of Trent; and it will be within the bounds of moderation to say that neither the opening nor the closing of that Council so drew to itself the eyes of the whole world, nor so reflected the unity and universality of the Church, as this Centenary.

But if it would be unreasonable to compare these few days of festival in Rome with eighteen years of legislation in Trent, it would be equally unreasonable, and most superficial, to estimate the moral significance of this Centenary by the ceremonies and solemnities of those three weeks. This event may be taken, I believe, to be the opening of

a new period, and to contain a future which may reach over centuries: and it is to this I would call your thoughts.

And first, this solemn celebration of the anniversary of S. Peter's Martyrdom has in it a confession of faith, which must exercise a powerful action both upon the Church and the world.

The words of our Divine Master, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,' never yet received a more majestic interpretation. They are blazoned round the dome which hangs above his sanctuary. But the other day, the reality which they prophesy was there. The bishops of the Universal Church assembled round his tomb. There they were, resting upon him as the rock and foundation of their power throughout the world. Fathers, doctors, and Councils have, in all ages, saluted Rome as the Chair of Peter; but here, in honour of his martyrdom and of his successor, five hundred bishops came from the farthest regions of the earth to declare their faith in the Divine centre of the Catholic unity, and their vital adherence to it. The words of antiquity seemed to be impersonated. S. Cyprian's axiom of unity was there visible; 'There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one Chair founded upon the Rock (*super Petram*) by the voice of the Lord.'* 'To manifest unity, He has ordained by His authority that unity should take its rise from one [Apostle].†

* S. Cypr. Epist. xl. ad Plebem, &c. Ed. Baluz.

† De Unit. Eccl. Opp. p. 195.

The words of S. Augustin* were there before us : Peter ‘personated [the Church] because of the primacy he held among the Disciples;’ and of S. Optatus,† that ‘Peter alone received the keys;’ and of S. Leo, that our Lord has willed that whatsoever He gave to the Apostles they should possess alone through Peter;‡ and of S. Ambrose, ‘where Peter is, there is the Church.’§ In the midst of this nineteenth century, when faith is waxing faint even in nations once Catholic, and men have been deriding, and foretelling the downfall of the successor of S. Peter, as a relic of mediæval superstition, and the shadow of an old usurpation, the bishops of the world come together, to reaffirm their faith in the supremacy and prerogatives of the Prince of the Apostles, in the person of his successor; and their absolute adherence and submission to his Chair and to his authority.

In this assembly of bishops in Rome there was also contained the recognition and fulfilment of some of the highest obligations of the episcopate. By a law of great antiquity, resulting from the primacy of jurisdiction and the plenitude of pastoral care which was committed to S. Peter, and in him to his successors, the bishops, as pastors of the flock, are bound to appear personally, at fixed intervals of time,

* Enarr. in Ps. 108, tom. v. p. 1215.

† S. Optat. De Schismate Donat. Lib. 1. Opp. p. 10.

‡ S. Leon. Serm. in Die Assumpt. suæ. iii. Opp. p. 52.

§ S. Ambr. in Ps. xl. tom. i. p. 879, ed. Ben.

before the tomb of the Apostle. By the Constitutions of Benedict XIV., it is ordered that all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops shall visit the *Limina Apostolorum*: those of Italy and the neighbouring shores every three years; of Germany, Spain, England, and the north of Europe every four years; of the remoter parts of Europe every five years; of Asia and the more distant countries every ten years. The duty of this visit consists of three parts: first, personal presence at the tomb of the Apostle; second, the act of reverence and obedience to the Roman Pontiff; and thirdly, the account which every bishop is bound to render in writing to the Pastor of pastors, of the state of his diocese, both of his clergy and flock, descending into the minutest details of their number and condition. This visit is a recognition of the supreme jurisdiction of the Vicar of our Lord over the Universal Church. It is a direct account, rendered by each bishop to the Pastor who represents the chief of the Apostles. If the Sovereign Pontiff were at Gaeta or at Avignon, the visit would be made there, or wheresoever he may be. Under the splendour and beauty of this Centenary, therefore, there was this world-wide recognition of the supreme pastoral care of the chief Pastor upon earth; and an account, minute and universal, of the state of the whole Catholic Church, as of one fold under one shepherd.

It is certainly not without a Divine disposal that, high and above all other events at this moment,

should be manifested the universality of the Church resting upon Peter. In an age when men are wandering, or feeling their way uncertainly, believing that a Church exists, but not knowing where to find it, the two notes which S. Augustin held up before the Donatists, the *diffusa per orbem*, and the *Cathedra Petri*, are visibly seen, not as texts in a page, but as living facts before our eyes. I hope that it will be not unacceptable to you if I draw together old truths with which, Reverend and dear Brethren, I know you to be familiar: nevertheless, this moment gives them a special seasonableness, and a new explicitness and application to our times.

What I conceive is brought vividly before us is the perpetual office and action of Peter as the source of unity and infallibility to the Church; and at the same time the eminently practical and pervading influence of this Divine order. With those who are out of the Church, Peter is a historical name, a person in the past, a subject of patristic learning, a symbol of unity and authority. To Catholics, Peter teaches and rules at this hour. His prerogatives are wielded by successors, but the powers are his. He is the source of jurisdiction, the organ of truth, the centre of unity. Pontiffs come and go, but Peter abides always. As one of the greatest of his successors has said: 'Simon may die, but Peter lives for ever.' The Catholic theology, therefore, and the Councils of the Church, when they speak of Peter and of his prerogatives, are using no rhetorical phrases, no oriental and allegorical

exaggerations. They use the words of strict law, and of exact rights. They express the first principles of the Divine unity and authority of the Church of God. When Bellarmin enumerates the eight-and-twenty prerogatives of S. Peter, he is defining the exclusive primacy of power and office which lies at the foundation of the Church, and endures to this day. To pass over all others, there are five prerogatives exclusively belonging to him, which descend to his successors. He was the first of the Apostles, and is so always designated. He had a special name which, both in prophecy and by promise, made him the rock of foundation. He had, first and alone, the plenitude of all power. He had a special stability of faith, by the singular assistance of the prayer of our Divine Lord; and an office, of which that stability is the condition, to confirm his brethren; and lastly, he had the supreme and sole charge of the whole flock on earth. In virtue of these prerogatives Peter became, and, in his successor, is to this day, the source of mission, the centre and bond of Churches, the note of unity, the test of truth, the fountain of jurisdiction.

If there be, then, any truth evidently declared in Scripture and in universal tradition, in the writings of Fathers, and in the decrees of Councils, it is that which may be summed up in the following propositions:—

(1.) That to Peter, first and alone, was given by our Divine Lord the plenitude of all power, both of

teaching and of ruling, together with the charge of the whole flock on earth.

(2.) That this power was so given to him that he was able to act alone and supremely, apart from the other Apostles; whereas the other Apostles were unable to act except in subordination to him.

(3.) That to him a special assistance was granted, to sustain him in the knowledge and declaration of the faith, and a special office committed to him to confirm and to sustain the faith of the Apostles; so that the deposit of faith was doubly secured, first in the person of Peter, and next in the college of the Apostles in union with him.

(4.) That this Divine foundation and institution of the Church is perpetual; that Peter lives on in his successors, and the college of the Apostles in the episcopate; so that both the Chair of Peter is indefectible and infallible, and also the episcopate in union with it.

Such are, in fact, the principles which were embodied in this great solemnity; and that I may more fully and completely express this confession of faith, I will take the words of another, more capable than I am to convey its full force.

‘Rome, through its bishop, successor of the Apostle S. Peter, forms the centre of unity to the whole Church. Hence those marks and notes, which are for the purpose of designating the kingdom of God on earth, must, in virtue of such title, attach to the Roman Church, as chief among all particular Churches,

the union of which constitutes the Church Universal. And as it is especially in this characteristic of Rome, as being the foundation, that the force of cohesion resides which makes the Church one united and harmonious whole, in Rome, too, should be found the conditions of the Church's unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity. Take from the Church the primacy which Peter brought and bequeathed to Rome, and the Church has ceased to exist; it has vanished from men's eyes, has lost its infallible teaching, and can no longer guide mankind in the way of salvation.

‘It was in a visible way that Jesus Christ designated the Apostle Peter from the rest; and in like manner it is from its visible head, and from its union with him, that the Church derives that complete fulness of organisation which constitutes its beauty and its glory. The Roman Church possesses, immediately and intrinsically, the attributes which characterise the kingdom of God;* all others share in them only by their union with it. For Rome is the *One only* Church to which all others must conform, by reason of its preeminent primacy, and because within it the Apostolic traditions have been preserved.† Rome, with its arenas dyed with Christian blood, showing on the line of its Pontiffs twenty-seven confessors in the purple of martyrdom; Rome, that for centuries

* *Lupoli*, Jur. Eccl. præl. vol. I., p. 70, sqq. *Th. Stapleton*, Vere admiranda, seu de magnitudine Romanæ Ecclesiæ libri duo. Ant. 1599, in 4to.

† *S. Iren.* adv. Hær. III. 3, § 21, note 27.

was one wide field of slaughter, to which the children of the Cross came from all quarters of the Roman world to vindicate their glorious title at the price of a cruel death.* Rome is the *Holy* Church, which Christ has given for a foundation, in the person of him to whom His own prayer secured indefectibility of faith for all who believe in Him; the Church which has preserved, pure and intact, holiness of teaching; from which descends the order that presides over the administration of the holy sacraments; and whose holy laws guide mankind to salvation. Rome is the *Universal* Church, whose gospel messengers have traversed the whole world; whose faith is proclaimed throughout the earth; which has accomplished what pagan Rome attempted in vain, and subdued that world to itself.† However numerous and brilliant its victories, war never subjugated so many nations to it as Christian peace has ranged beneath its laws.‡ This unparalleled greatness and glory Rome owes to the Apostles; to the Prince of the Apostles, above all: hence it is the *Apostolic* Church; and more, the *Princely Apostolic* Church. If in ancient days it could come with a claim to the homage of mankind, and point with just and holy

* *Stapleton*, loc. cit. pp. 22, 23. *Arringhi*, *Roma Subterranea*, lib. i. *Blaëtter*, Bd. xi., s. 155, u. ff.

† *Prosper*, *Lib. de Ingratis* :—

Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundi, quicquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet.

‡ *S. Leo*, *Serm.* 82, in *Natal. Petri et Pauli*, t. I. col. 321.

pride to its twenty-five Pontiffs, how much more to-day, when it can claim the world's reverence and admiration with its two hundred and fifty-three bishops who have sat successively in the Prince of the Apostles' Chair.*

‘Nor is this enough; the Church of Rome is *im-perishable*. Placed in the swiftest stream of events, amid the vicissitudes of ages and of empires, amid the raging billows of every passion, exposed to every fury, constantly assailed by emperors, Gothic kings, Greek exarchs, Lombards, and Franks—by paganism, schism, and heresy—there it has ever remained, immoveable on that Rock of Peter: that rock, itself unshaken, of Apostolic and universal unity. What could Nero do against it, or Domitian, or Decius, or Dioclesian? What could the gates of hell do against it, or what can they now?’ †

The evidence from inspired and uninspired writings for the infallibility of the Church may be distinguished into three classes.

First, those which declare the perpetual stability or infallibility of S. Peter, or of S. Peter and his successors.

Secondly, those which declare the perpetual stability or infallibility of the Church with reference to S. Peter in his successors.

Thirdly, those which declare the perpetual stability

* *Bellarmin.* de Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. c. 8.

† Phillips, *Du Droit Eccles. &c.*, translated by Crouzet. Paris, 1855. Vol. i. pp. 156–159.

or infallibility of the Church, without reference to S. Peter and his successors.

It would be disproportioned to this letter to quote at length the proofs of this assertion ; I am compelled to limit myself to affirming that the extent and the explicitness of the evidence under the two first classes is far beyond the extent and the explicitness of the evidence under the third ; and further, that the evidence under the first class is at least equal to, if it be not more than, the evidence under the two last.

The conclusion I would draw from this is, that whensoever the perpetuity of the faith and the infallibility of the Church is spoken of, the foremost and governing idea in the mind of the faithful has always been the Divine order and assistance by which S. Peter and his successors have been constituted as the perpetual teachers of the Universal Church, and guides in the way of eternal life.

The formation of the Church is traced in the order of the Baptismal Creed. God sent His Son into the world to be made man. The Incarnate Word, in Whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, became the fountain of grace and truth, of doctrine, and of jurisdiction, to the world. To the chief of His Apostles He conveyed by the Holy Ghost all His communicable prerogatives, and thereby constituted him His vicar upon earth. Peter became the head and guide, the fountain of doctrine and jurisdiction, to the Apostles. The Church sprang from him, and was formed, as S. Cyprian says, like

the seamless robe of our Lord, from the top throughout. The texture of the robe spread downwards from the beam on which it depended. The organisation of the Church was unfolded from the plenitude of its head. The prerogatives of stability, perpetuity, and indefectibility in the head became endowments of the body united to him. But they existed in Peter before they were communicated to the Church, and before the Church was organised to which they were to be communicated. The indefectibility of truth, therefore, both in its conception and enunciation, which includes necessarily the discernment between truth and falsehood in the custody of the Deposit, or, in other words, the supernatural gift of infallibility, in the *ordinary* * state of the Church, resides first in its head, next in the whole episcopate united with him; so that the declarations and condemnations of the head of the Church apart from the episcopate are infallible; and likewise those of the episcopate, being united with him. This constitutes what is called the active infallibility of the Church. From this, too, arises the passive infallibility; that is, the Divine security which sustains the whole Church in its faith:

* It is impossible to treat in this place of the *extraordinary* condition of the Church, such as occurred in what is called 'the great Western schism.' It is enough for the present to quote the words of Bellarmin: 'Etsi Concilium sine Papa non potest definire nova dogmata fidei, potest tamen judicare tempore schismatis, quis sit verus Papa, et providere Ecclesiæ de vero pastore, quando is nullus aut dubius est: et hoc est, quod recte fecit Concilium Constantiense.'—*De Concil. Auct.* lib. ii. c. 19, sect. 22.

so that it is impossible for the whole Church to err in believing, because the pastors of the Church, with their head, cannot err in teaching. But it is manifest that, according to this doctrine, the fountain of infallible teaching is the Divine Head in heaven, through the organ of the visible head of the Church on earth.

In a word, then, this Centenary was the Feast of S. Peter's Chair, elevated to the highest rite and celebrated by the whole Church. The one dominant truth, idea, power, and divine institution which it set before our eyes and hearts is the *Cathedra Petri*. Let us recal to our minds what the studies of earlier days have made familiar, and our daily labours have verified.

The Chair of Peter is the power of Peter, and the place where it has been divinely fixed. The power of Peter is in the key of knowledge and the key of jurisdiction, committed by a divine act to him as Vicar of Christ and head of the Church on earth. The Divine warrant of this power is recorded in three declarations of our Divine Master—'Tibi dabo claves : 'Pasce oves meas : ' 'Ego rogavi pro te.' The delivery of the keys of knowledge and jurisdiction gave the plenitude of power to teach and to rule; the delivery of the flock determined the object of that power; the prayer of the Divine Head of the Church sustains the faith of Peter. I know that the world, and every heresy and schism that has rebelled against the Vicar of Christ, has denied, and does daily deny, this affir-

mation of the sense and effect of these three declaratory acts of Divine power. But I know that the Church has always so believed, held, and taught: and from its tradition nothing can make us swerve. The foundation thus laid in Peter's person abides to this day. The faith which was infused into him, not by 'flesh and blood,' but by the 'Father in heaven,' was sustained by the prayer of the Son of God, and is transmitted and impersonated in his successors. The faith of Peter is, by a Divine assistance, perpetual in the Church; and is therefore, by its intrinsic stability, indefectible and infallible. 'The Chair of Peter, then, signifies the place of the power and of the doctrine of that faith; which is the foundation for which Christ prayed that it might not fail.'* From this it follows 'that the Church, or See, or Cathedra, or Episcopate, or Pontificate of Peter in Rome, which things are taken for one and the same, to which the Roman Pontiffs succeed with the full authority and power of Peter, to bind, to loose, and to teach, derives its supreme power, as the Council of Florence decreed, not by concessions of Emperors or of Councils, but immediately from God.'†

From this special prerogative of the Roman Pontiffs descends the special prerogative of the Roman Church—that is, of the particular Church of Rome, with its

* L. Brancatus de Lauræa, De Virtute Fidei Disp. v. Art. vii., de Decretis Eccles. Ed. Rom. 1673. Typis S. C. de Prop. Fid. This portion of the treatise may be found also in Rocaberti, Bibl. Max. Pontif. tom. xv. p. 48.

† Ibid., or Rocaberti, *ut supra*.

clergy and people, of which the Roman Pontiff is Bishop. All particular Churches, except this, may err; the particular Church of Rome cannot; for which cause it has inherited a host of titles expressive of its dignity and stability. It has been known as 'The Head of the Episcopate,' 'The Mother of all Churches,' 'The Mistress or Teacher and Ruler of all Churches,' 'The Primacy over all the Church,' 'The Primacy over all the World,' 'The Head of Religion,' 'The Guardian of the Faith,' 'The Guardian of Tradition.'* The Roman Church has been regarded as the true seat of the apostolic tradition; the doctrine of Rome as the form of truth; the Roman See as the pattern for judgments in faith; the judgments of Rome as equivalent to decrees of Councils. In a word, the Chair of Peter has been held to be the test of orthodoxy, the confirmer of Councils, the supreme tribunal of faith, the destroyer of heresies, the end of controversies, an authority which is subject to no appeal, to no reversal, to no revision, to no superior upon earth.†

What is the sense of all this, but that the indefectibility and infallibility of the Pontiff, by a singular privilege, pervades the Church of which he is pastor? Therefore it is that, from the earliest history, we find the Roman Church exercising this supreme office of

* L. Brancatus de Lauræa, De Decretis Eccles. Art. iii., or Rocaberti, tom. xv. p. 24.

† Schrader, De Unitate Romana, pp. 223, 225-6, 273, 279. Orsi, De irreformabili Rom. Pontif. Judicio, tom. ii. pp. 300, 310, 324.

teaching and ruling. The Roman Pontiffs, from the beginning, have issued decrees, sentences, judgments, condemnations, on faith, on morals, on universal discipline, without Councils, general or particular, or with the assistance of bishops chosen by themselves, or with their own clergy and theologians. And such acts of the Roman Church have always been received as objects of faith, and laws of Divine authority.

I need hardly stay to quote S. Irenæus, who lays down that all Churches must needs be ‘in agreement’ with the Roman Church;* or Tertullian, that it had the singular happiness of receiving the whole doctrine of the Apostles, together with their blood;† or S. Cyprian, that the faith of the Romans was commended by S. Paul, and that error in faith could never find access to them;‡ or S. Jerome to Pope Damasus, ‘With you alone is preserved incorrupt the inheritance of the Fathers;’§ or S. Augustin, ‘Rescripts have come (from the Apostolic See): the cause is finished.’|| I will quote only Theodoret, who sums up the sense of the Western Church while he bears witness for the Eastern: ‘That most holy See has the primacy and leadership of the Churches in all the world by many titles, and by this above all, that it has continued free from taint of heresy; nor has

* S. Iren.: *Contra Hær.*, lib. iv. 38.

† Tertull. *De Præscr.* c. xxxvi.

‡ Epist. lv. Opp. p. 86. Ed. Baluz.

§ Epist. xv. Opp. tom. i. P. I, p. 38. Ed. Ven. 1766.

|| S. Aug. Opp. Serm. cxxxi. s. 10, tom. v. 645.

any one of perverse opinions ever sat in it, but it has preserved the Apostolic grace inviolate.’* S. Gelasius, therefore, only expressed what the whole Church believed, when he declared that ‘the See of Peter the Apostle is first, the Roman Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.’†

It must here be observed that the prerogative of Peter is the cause, the fidelity of the Roman Church the effect.

These are the principles declared by the Sovereign Pontiff in his Allocution of June 26, in which he announced his intention to convoke, at some future time not yet determined, a General Council. In that allocution he dwelt upon the strength which the bishops derive from Rome. He said: ‘But if the general good of the faithful be considered, what, venerable brethren, can be more timely and wholesome for Catholic nations, in order to increase their obedience towards us and the Apostolic See, than that they should see how highly the sanctity and the rights of Catholic unity are prized by their pastors, and should behold them, for that cause, traversing great distances of sea and land, deterred by no difficulties from hastening to the Roman See, that they may pay reverence in the person of our humility to the successor of Peter and the Vicar of Christ on earth? For by this authority of example, far better

* Ad Renat. Presbyt. ep. cxvi. Schrader, *De Unitate Romana*. Tom. ii. 217.

† Ibid. tom. ii. p. 217.

than by subtil doctrine, they will perceive what reverence, obedience, and submission they ought to bear towards us, to whom, in the person of Peter, Christ our Lord said, "Feed My lambs—feed My sheep," and in those words entrusted and committed to us the supreme care and power over the universal Church.'

'Moreover, you also, Venerable Brethren, in the exercise of your sacred ministry, will reap a signal fruit from this reverence towards the Apostolic See; for in the measure in which you are bound by closer bonds of relationship, faith, and love to the cornerstone of this mystical building, in that measure, as the history of the Church in all times teaches, you will be more and more clothed with that fortitude and strength which are needed by the amplitude of your ministry against the attacks of the enemy and the adversity of events. For what else did Christ our Lord intend us to understand when he set Peter as head to defend the stability of his brethren, saying, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not?" He intended, as S. Leo implies, that "the Lord took a special care of Peter, and prayed expressly for Peter's faith, as if the state of the others would be more certain if the mind of their chief were unconquered. In Peter, therefore, the fortitude of all was guarded, and the help of Divine grace was so ordained that the stability which was given by Christ to Peter, by Peter should be bestowed on the rest of the Apostles." Wherefore, we are always assured, it cannot be but

that a larger measure of that fortitude which, by a special gift of the Lord, was bestowed on Peter, should be always given to you as often as you are present with the person of Peter, who lives in his successors; and touch only the soil of this City, which the toil and the triumphal blood of the sacred Prince of the Apostles has watered. Nay, venerable brethren, we have never doubted but that out of the very tomb where the ashes of blessed Peter rest for the perpetual veneration of the world, a secret power and healing virtue goes forth to inspire the pastors of the Lord's flock with daring strength, great courage, and nobleness of mind; and this, by renewing their power, makes the bold audacity of the enemy, which is no match for the virtue and power of Catholic unity, to sink and fall in a conflict so unequal.'

To this the bishops unanimously answered—

'While, looking up to the heavenly Jerusalem, that rejoices in the glory of her new Saints, we recognise and set forth the wonderful works of the Lord, we take part more fervently in the present celebration, as contemplating, in the solemnity which this day brings round again, the unshaken firmness of the Rock whereon our Lord and Saviour built His Church, solid and perpetual. For we perceive it to be an effect of the power of God, that the Chair of Peter, the organ of truth, the centre of unity, the foundation and bulwark of the Church's freedom, should have stood firm and unmoved for now eighteen

hundred years complete, amid so many adverse circumstances, and such constant efforts of its enemies: that, while kingdoms and empires rose and fell in turn, it should so have stood, as a secure beacon to direct men's course through the tempestuous sea of life, and show, by its light, the safe anchorage and harbour of salvation.

‘Led by this faith and these feelings, Most Holy Father, we spoke before, when five years ago, standing around your throne, we rendered our due testimony to the sublime office you bear, and gave public expression to our prayers for you, for your civil principedom, and the cause of right and of religion. Led by this faith we then professed, both in words and writing, that nothing was nearer to us, nor dearer, than to believe and teach those things which you believe and teach; than to reject those errors which you reject; than to walk in the ways of the Lord with one mind, under your guidance; to follow you, to labour with you, and with you to contend in the Lord's cause, at every risk and with whatever result. All these things, which we then declared, we now renew and confirm with the deepest filial piety; and we desire to testify it to the whole world; gratefully remembering also, and with fullest assent, all you have done from that time onward for the good of the faithful and the glory of the Church.

‘For, as Peter said long since, “We cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard.” You have also held it to be a sacred and solemn duty; you are

giving manifest proof that you have never held it to be otherwise. For never has your voice been silent. You have accounted it to belong to your supreme office to proclaim eternal verities; to smite with the sword of your Apostolic utterance the errors of the time, which threaten to overthrow the natural and supernatural order of things, and the very foundations of ecclesiastical and civil power; to dispel the darkness which perverse and novel teachings have shed over men's souls; and to declare, persuade to, and approve all that is needful and wholesome to the individual, to the Christian family, and to civil society: so that at length all may attain to know what it is that every Catholic should hold, retain, and profess. For that exceeding great care we render to your Holiness the deepest thanks, and with endless gratitude; and, believing that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius, therefore, whatsoever you have spoken, confirmed, and pronounced for the safe custody of the deposit, we likewise speak, confirm, and pronounce; and with one voice and one mind we reject everything which, as being opposed to Divine faith, the salvation of souls, and the good of human society, you have judged fit to reprove and reject. For that is firmly and deeply established in our consciousness, which the Fathers at Florence defined in their decree on union, that the Roman Pontiff "is the Vicar of Christ, head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, has been com-

mitted by our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church."

'But there are other things beside which excite our love and gratitude towards you. We admire and rejoice over the heroic courage with which you have opposed this world's pernicious stratagems ; and your efforts to keep the Lord's flock in the way of salvation, to guard it against the seductions of error, and defend it against the force of the powerful and the subtlety of the falsely wise. We admire that zeal which knows no weariness ; with which, embracing in your apostolic care the peoples of the East and West, you have never ceased to provide for the good of the universal Church. We admire the noble spectacle of the good Shepherd which you afford to the race of mankind, that is plunging deeper into evil day by day ; one which strikes the minds of the very enemies of the truth, and arrests even unwilling eyes by its intrinsic excellence and dignity.'

By these words the bishops did not confirm the acts of the Pontiff as if they needed confirmation, nor accept his declarations of truth and condemnations of error as if they needed their acceptance. They did not intend or imply that the supreme Pontifical acts since 1862, in the form of Allocutions, Briefs, Encyclicals, and the Syllabus, were of imperfect and only inchoate authority until their acceptance should confirm them. Nothing was further from the thoughts of the pastors of the Church. They recognised the voice of Peter in the voice of Pius, and the

infallible certainty of all his declarations and condemnations, in virtue of the supreme and singular prerogative of Doctor of the Universal Church, given by our Lord Jesus Christ to Peter, and through Peter to his successors. They renewed, before the tomb of the Apostle, the adhesion they had already given, one by one, in the midst of their flocks, to the successive utterances of the Sovereign Pontiff, as these, from time to time, had reached them. The Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, and the Syllabus or compendium of eighty condemnations in previous encyclicals and allocutions—all these had been at once received by them as a part of the supreme teaching of the Church, through the person of its head, which, by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, is preserved from all error. They did not add certainty to that which was already infallible.* This act of adhesion was a recognition of the supreme and plenary office of the successor of S. Peter, which, as the Council of Florence defined, he has received in and through the person of Peter : not by canons, nor by councils, nor by ecclesiastical institution, as some blindly say, with the decree refuting them before their eyes, but from the direct grant and gift of our Lord Jesus Christ, before as yet a canon was made, or a council assembled.

I have lately seen it affirmed by a Protestant critic, that the truths and principles which have been

* Gerdil. *Per la Bolla Auctorem Fidei*. Sez. 2. Art. vii., viii., ix. Op. inedit., tom. v. p. 256–259. Napoli, 1855.

here declared are modern: that Ultramontanism, as it is called, is a novel opinion, and that its rise is to be ascribed to 'the vulgar ambition of ruling as a despot over willing slaves,' to 'bureaucratic despotism with a well-drilled episcopal police,' to 'the Tarquinian policy of cutting down all the taller poppy-heads,' to 'watchful jealousy and incessant petty persecution on the part of the Curia.'

We are told that 'the first epoch of Ultramontanism commenced with the Council of Constance, and closed with the Council of Trent;' that, unfortunately, the counsels of Pole and Contarini were not followed, and that but for their failure 'the Teutonic element would have conquered for itself its natural place and recognition in the development of the Catholic Church.' The Catholic Church, we are told, became 'the Latin Church,' which lost the Teutonic element by confirming its despotic grasp upon the Latin. The great error, we are taught, was committed by a General Council. The Council of Constance 'put the cart before the horse': or, as we should say, it determined the election of the Pope; and then, instead of ruling him and teaching him, it submitted to him as the Vicar of Christ. The main principle of Ultramontanism, therefore, was distinctly recognised and put in act by the Council of Constance. Does any one imagine that in this the Council of Constance differs from the Councils of Chalcedon or of Trent, or that its acts embody any other principles than those of the universal tradition of Christianity—namely, the supreme

authority of the successor of S. Peter in ruling and teaching the whole Church on earth?

As to 'the Teutonic element,' a few words may be said. It would seem that some suppose the Catholic Church to be a system, like the Austrian or the British empire, in which nationalities are to play their part, balanced by constitutional checks. This Judaic notion began to rise when the idea of Catholic unity began to decline. The assimilation of all national distinctions to a higher type—the extinction, that is, of nationalities in Christ Jesus—eliminated Jew and Greek, Teuton and Latin, from the sphere of faith. It was the rise of modern nationalities which caused the great Western schism, for the termination of which the Council of Constance was assembled. The schism was healed, though the Council of Basle for a while re-opened it. The national spirit continued still to work, and in a part of Germany and England grew to a head, which in the sixteenth century issued in the Protestant schism. But for the Council of Constance, the greater part of Europe might have been involved. After the Council of Trent, a part of Germany, and England and Scotland, fell finally from the Catholic unity. But 'the Teutonic element' was not thereby lost to the Church. More than half of Germany is Catholic to this day. And the Anglo-Saxon race, in which Teuton, German, and Celt are mixed together, is spreading over a large part of the world. At this moment, the English-speaking episcopate of Great Britain and its possessions, with the

United States of America, is more numerous than the hierarchy of any other race or language. There are not less than a hundred and sixty or seventy 'Teutonic' bishops in this 'Latin Church.' It is a mystery of God's providence that races and nations once in the Catholic unity should fall from it. But it was not Ultramontanism which separated the Lutherans of the West, any more than the Nestorians of the East. It was not the infallibility of the Pope, *ex cathedrâ*, which drove Protestants into schism. It was the denial of the infallibility of the Church which made them heretics.

We are often and confidently told that 'Ultramontanism can make little way with thinking men. The last resource is to appeal to the credulity or the ignorance of those who are afraid to think; and here lies the true explanation of that perplexing blunder, the Encyclical of 1864.'

The 'perplexing blunder' of 1864 gives me the occasion for which I have been waiting. In the touching recital of the last days of our illustrious Cardinal, we read these words. Hearing that some of the French bishops had ordered the Encyclical to be read to the people, he said: 'I am very glad the French bishops are standing out so bravely for the liberties of the Church. That will console the Holy Father very much.' He added that he had hoped to say something on it. 'The French bishops have spoken, but as yet I have said nothing.'*

* 'Cardinal Wiseman's Last Illness,' pp. 24, 25 (Burns).

I have felt that this duty devolves as an heirloom upon me; and it has been my intention to treat of the Encyclical and Syllabus fully and explicitly. But the urgency of other duties has delayed it till now; and I have been compelled to content myself with publishing those two Pontifical acts in our fifth Diocesan Synod, as a part of the supreme and infallible teaching of the Church, both in the declarations and in the condemnations contained in them.

And now that half the Episcopate of the Church has spoken, proclaiming that, from the moment the voice of Peter reached them, all the declarations and condemnations of his successor were to them the rule of their teaching, I know not what I have to add. Nevertheless, I may hope at a future day to treat of some of the propositions of the Syllabus which are either most assailed, or nearest in their bearing upon us. I have no hesitation in saying that the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864 are among the greatest acts of this Pontificate. The Encyclicals which preceded them had condemned many of the chief anti-Christian and anti-social errors of the day. They had prepared for the unanimous declaration of the Episcopate in 1862, on the subject of the temporal power, to which afterwards the whole number of the absent bishops adhered. Deny it who may, that act stemmed the tide of public opinion in Europe. It extinguished within the unity of the Church the few who murmured against the temporal power, or spoke laxly or erroneously about it. The unanimity of Catholics

told upon those without, and a change of tone is perceptible since that date. Next came the Encyclical and Syllabus, which summed up in one act the declarations of so many years, giving them a new promulgation and a sensible accession of power over the minds, not only of the faithful, but even of opponents, by the concentrated force and weight of their application. This, again, prepared for the declaration of the bishops at this Centenary of S. Peter's Day. Every bishop in the world had the Encyclical and Syllabus in his hands. Upon that summary of the acts of this whole Pontificate five hundred bishops proclaim their adhesion to every declaration and every condemnation therein contained, and to every other act of doctrinal authority since their last assembly in Rome. It is the Encyclical and Syllabus which gives such force and import to the words of the episcopate the other day. It is the basis of their Salutation, as they style the address. It will be also the basis and the guide of the General Council, prescribing and directing its deliberations and decrees. That it should be 'perplexing' to those who refuse to learn of the Church throughout the world is not wonderful. Light is perplexing to eyes that are only half open, or, from disease, are again half shut. The greatest blunder in the world's eyes is Catholicism: the next greatest is Christianity. Ultramontanism is Catholic Christianity.

I will make but one more remark on these popular errors, on which already I have said more than their intrinsic worth demands. We are told: 'In one Roman

Catholic country the struggle between the rival systems was continued for two centuries after the Reformation; and the great name of Bossuet is not more illustrious for his eloquence than for his bold vindication of the national as opposed to the ultramontane theory of Catholicism.' There is a truth in this passage. Gallicanism is nationalism: that which the Gospel casts out; that which grew up again in mediæval Christendom. It is the Christian Judaism which strove to elect its own High Priest; the national factions which rent the Sacred College; the nationalism which set up two or three uncanonical Popes, and two or three national obediences; the spirit of egotism, worldliness, and avarice, which caused whole nations of Europe to apostatise from the Divine will, from the unity of the Church, and to erect Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism on the schismatical basis of national Churches. The same spirit in France tempted Louis XIV. and a handful of courtiers, ecclesiastical and civil, to the verge of schism, from which they were saved by the authority of the Pontiff, by the Catholic fidelity of the majority of the French bishops, and by the Catholic instincts of the French people. The great name of Bossuet, as I will show, was darkened by his contact with this error, and might have incurred a censure which would have attached to it for ever. Much as we respect the memory of Bossuet, reverence for the Divine order of the Church constrains us not to praise him when his illustrious name is under a cloud.

The boldness or the unconsciousness with which Gallicanism is sometimes put forward as an opinion which Catholics are free to hold without blame, and as a basis on which Churches are to unite under the shelter of Bossuet, and as a standard of Catholic moderation in rebuke of Ultramontane excesses, makes it seasonable to tell its history. Gallicanism is no more than a transient and modern opinion which arose in France, without warrant or antecedents in the antient theological schools of the great French Church: a royal theology, as suddenly developed and as parenthetical as the Thirty-nine Articles; affirmed only by a small number out of the numerous episcopate of France, indignantly rejected by many of them; condemned in succession by three Pontiffs; declared by the Universities of Louvain and Douai to be erroneous; retracted by the Bishops of France; condemned by Spain, Hungary, and other countries, and condemned over again in the bull ‘*Auctorem Fidei*.’ To this may be added, that the name of Bossuet escaped censure only out of indulgence, by reason of his great services to the Church; and that even the lawfulness of giving absolution to those who defend the Gallican Articles, has been gravely questioned.

To justify these assertions, I will briefly give the proofs; with the references, which may be easily consulted.

In order to maintain against Innocent XI. the pretended claims of the *Regale* in matters of ecclesiastical

benefice, Louis XIV. commanded the bishops and clergy to assemble in 1682. Thirty-four bishops out of a hierarchy of some hundred and twenty assembled. A majority of these—not all, for it is known that De Brias, Archbishop of Cambray, resisted—passed the four famous Gallican Articles, and published them on the 19th of March.* They were immediately con-

* Zaccaria Antifebronius Vindicatus, Dissert V. c. v. 2. Romæ 1848.

The following account, given by Fenelon, respecting the part taken by Bossuet in the Articles of 1682, is too interesting to be omitted :—

‘Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, lately deceased, often narrated to me, before witnesses worthy of confidence, the things which passed in the Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1682. The narrative was as follows :

‘Choiseul, Bishop of Tournai, had been chosen to draw up the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy on the authority of the Pope. He wrote it, and it was read. At once Bossuet strongly opposed him, because he declared that both the Apostolic See and the Pope personally might fall into heresy. Choiseul answered : Unless you say so, whether you will or no, you necessarily affirm the infallibility of Rome. Bossuet replied : But you cannot deny that the faith of Peter shall never fail in his See. That is clearly proved by the promises ; that is most evident from universal tradition. If that be so, Choiseul said, absolute infallibility is ascribed not indeed to the man who sits in the See, but to the See itself. And so it must be admitted that every decree which emanates from the Apostolic See is altogether irrefutable, and confirmed by infallible authority.

‘Bossuet tried to answer the objection in this way : The faith of this See is indeed indefectible ; nevertheless its judgments are not infallible. How do you prove, Choiseul asked, that the faith of this See is indefectible ? I prove it, said Bossuet, from the promises of Christ ; forasmuch as Christ expressly says, “ I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.” This is the faith of Peter, which shall never fail in his See. . . .

demned by the University of Louvain. They were assailed by the theologians of Liège. The professors of Douai at once petitioned the King that they might

‘While Choiseul endeavoured to refute these arguments, Bossuet urged him sharply. He said, with a peremptory voice, Answer: can the Apostolic See become heretical or not? Whatever you say will be contrary to yourself. If you say that the Apostolic See can become heretical, and, in defending its heresy, schismatical, then by your doctrine it may come to pass, that the head of the Church may be torn from the body, and the truncated body become lifeless; and therefore the centre of unity in faith become the centre of corrupt belief and of heresy. But if you say, this See cannot fail in the faith, of which it is the centre and head, therefore the faith of this See is indefectible.

‘After much direct controversy of the same kind, Choiseul added: Under this milder name of indefectibility you are insinuating that very infallibility of the Ultramontanes which you deny, and most dangerously delude yourself. Show therefore precisely and clearly in what this indefectibility of yours differs from that Ultramontane infallibility. The Bishop of Meaux answered, that it was promised to the Apostolic See that it should be for ever the foundation, centre, and head of the Catholic Church, and that therefore it could never become schismatical or heretical, like many Oriental Churches, which, once enjoying Catholic communion, had at length lapsed into schism and heresy. It is proved by the promises (these are Bossuet’s words), that to the Apostolic See this can never happen.

‘When this altercation between the two bishops ended, the Bishop of Tournai withdrew from the office of drawing up the Declaration. The Bishop of Meaux was substituted to fulfil this duty, and immediately drew up the Four Propositions as they exist at this day.

‘These are the particulars which witnesses worthy of confidence, and still living, have with me very often heard narrated by the Bishop of Meaux.’

Fenelon, *De Summi Pontificis Auctoritate*, c. 7.

Œuvres complètes de Fénelon. Vol. ii.
Paris, 1852.

not be required to affirm the propositions ; they declared that they and all the faithful ‘detested the doctrine in respect to ecclesiastical power contained in the declaration of the Gallican clergy ;’ they affirmed these opinions, which are destructive of the absolute primacy and infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, to be erroneous ; and that they should believe themselves to be numbered among schismatics if they were to derogate from the supreme authority of the Vicar instituted by Jesus Christ, in defining what doctrine is sound and true, and what is false and evil. ‘We have consulted,’ they add, ‘the most learned theologians, both regular and secular ; and we have not as yet been able to find even one solid ground to form a conscience which would dictate the lawfulness of teaching these propositions.’ In Spain, the Inquisition issued a decree in which each proposition was branded with a particular censure. In Hungary, in the year 1686, the propositions were condemned in the following words. After

Fenelon, in refuting Bossuet’s opinion, says :

‘The great use of the controversy between the Bishops of Tournai and Meaux is as follows : that out of their propositions may be constructed an invincible argument for the Apostolic See. The major is laid down by the Bishop of Tournai, the minor is defended by the Bishop of Meaux ; the conclusion is mine, and is inevitable. The indefectibility in faith of the Apostolic See, . . . said the Bishop of Tournai, is identical with the doctrine which the moderate school of Transalpines labour to prove, under the less mild name of infallibility. But the indefectibility of faith in this See, answered the Bishop of Meaux, can be denied by no instructed Catholic.

‘Therefore, I say, this gift promised by God, which Cisalpines call indefectibility, and Transalpines call infallibility, can be denied by no instructed Catholic.’—*Ibid.* c. 8.

describing the four propositions as ‘absurd to Christian ears, simply detestable,’ the plenary Council of Hungary proceeds: ‘After invoking the name of God with our venerable brethren the bishops, with the abbots, provosts, chapters, and professors of theology and of the sacred canons, we condemn and proscribe the four propositions aforesaid, and we interdict and prohibit all the faithful of the kingdom from reading, retaining, much more from teaching them, until the infallible sentence of the Apostolic See, to which alone, by a Divine and immutable privilege, it belongs to judge of such questions of faith, shall have been published.’ Add to this, that even the theological faculty of Paris refused to accept the propositions.*

But we must proceed to higher condemnations. The acts of the Gallican Assembly were no sooner published than they were condemned. On April 11th of the same year 1682—that is, three weeks after they appeared—Innocent XI. addressed the Brief *Paternae Charitati* to the bishops of France, of which the two following passages will suffice:—‘That part of your letter in which it is said that you, yielding your own rights, conferred them upon the King, we could not read without horror of mind; as if you were the masters, not the guardians, of the Churches committed to your care, and as if those Churches and their rights could be subjected to the yoke of the secular power by the bishops, who ought for the liberty of those Churches to go into bondage.’ And

* Zaccaria Antifebronius Vindicatus, Dissert V. c. v. 5, note.

again: 'Wherefore, by these present letters, by the authority delivered to us by Almighty God, we condemn, rescind, and annul whatsoever was done in your assemblies in the matter of the *Regale*, together with all its consequences, and whatsoever hereafter may be attempted, and we declare the same to be for ever null and void; although, forasmuch as they are in themselves manifestly null, they need no annulment or declaration of this kind.'*

To Innocent XI. succeeded Alexander VIII., who in 1688 condemned as temerarious, scandalous, ill-sounding, proximate to heresy, erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, twenty-one propositions, of which one was as follows:—'The assertion of the authority of the Roman Pontiff over Œcumenical Councils, and of his infallibility in questions of faith, is futile, and has been often refuted.'†

In 1690 he signed the Constitution *Inter Multiplices*, but deferred its publication, in the hope that the Court and clergy of France would retract the Gallican propositions. But in January 1691, being on his death-bed, he summoned twelve cardinals and two protonotaries apostolic, and in their presence promulgated the Constitution, in which, after reciting the whole cause, the Pope proceeds, as follows:—'We who have been constituted by the Lord to be the vindicators in this world of the rights of the Church, meditating on these things day and night in the bitterness

* Romanus Pontifex tanquam Primas Eccles. Roskovány, tom. ii. pp. 223–227. Nitriæ et Comaromii, 1867.

† Ibid. p. 239.

of our soul, have lifted up our hands with tears and sighs to the Lord, and have besought Him with all our heart that He would be with us in the power of His grace, in order that we may be able effectually to fulfil our duty in so arduous an act of the apostolic office committed to us: and moved by the thought lest we, who are soon to render account of our stewardship to the Supreme Judge, should be convicted of negligence in the trust committed to us'—'following in the footsteps of Innocent, our predecessor of happy memory, who,'—'in certain letters in the form of brief, on the 11th day of April 1682, condemned, rescinded, and annulled whatsoever was done in the aforesaid assemblies in the affair of the *Regale*—of our own motion we declare and decree that all and every one of the things which were done in the aforesaid assemblies of the Gallican clergy in the year 1682, as well concerning the extension of the *Regale* as also concerning the declaration in respect to the ecclesiastical power, and *the four propositions* contained therein, together with all and each of the mandates, arrests, &c., are by the force of law null, invalid, and void, and destitute of all force and effect from the first, and now, and hereafter* . . .' &c. Dated on the 4th day of August 1690, and published as above in January 1691. At the same time, and from his death-bed, the Pontiff addressed to Louis XIV. a pathetic letter of paternal authority, in which he says:

* Romanus Pontifex tanquam Primas Eccles. Roskovány, tom. ii. p. 237. Nitriæ et Comaromii, 1867.

‘ While we are standing upon the awful confines of this mortal life, and meditating on the account we must give of the supreme administration of the Church of God which has been committed to us, to the strict Judge Who is knocking at the door, we have deemed it to be altogether our duty to declare null and void all things, with all their consequences, past and future, which some years ago were done and declared in thy kingdom against the rights of churches, persons, and foundations in the same kingdom, and also against the authority of the Roman Pontiff, the Apostolic See, and the Universal Church, as will manifestly appear from the brief promulgated on the subject.’ *

To Alexander VIII. succeeded Innocent XII., in whose time the contest with the King of France was terminated. In the letter of Louis XIV. to the Pontiff, on his elevation, the King retracted the acts of 1682 in these words:—‘ And, inasmuch as I desire to testify (my filial respect) by the most effectual proofs in my power, I most gladly make known to your Holiness that I have given the necessary commands that the things contained in my edict of the 22nd day of March 1682, concerning the declaration of the Gallican clergy (to which past circumstances drove me), shall not be observed.’ †

It was also required that the bishops of France who had participated in those acts should retract the same.

* Róskovány *ut supra*, tom. ii. p. 239.

† Ibid. p. 240. The French text is given by Sfondratus, *Regale Sacerdotium*. Appendix.

This they did in a letter to Innocent XII., in which they say: 'We declare that we vehemently, and beyond all that can be expressed, lament from our hearts the acts which were done in the aforesaid assemblies, which have so profoundly displeased your Holiness and your predecessors. And therefore, whatsoever things can be held as decreed by those assemblies respecting the ecclesiastical power and the authority of the Pontiffs, we hold as not decreed, and declare that they ought so to be esteemed.' Lastly, they conclude as follows:—'Meanwhile, to your Holiness, as to the successor of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to the Vicar of Christ our Lord, and to the Head of the whole Church militant, that same true and sincere obedience which we have already promised, we again promise, vow, and swear.'*

Further, the same might be confirmed by the allocution of Innocent XII., and the briefs of Clement XI. of June 15 and August 31, in 1706. But enough has been said. I will add only the three following facts:—First, that in the Constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, Pius VI. condemns the Synod of Pistoia for incorporating the four Gallican Articles in its decrees, expressly because they had been already condemned by Pontifical authority; and declares that the insertion of those Articles in the Synod was 'temerarious, scandalous, and greatly injurious to the Apostolic See.'†

* Roskovány *ut supra*, tom. ii. p. 243.

† 'Multo fortius exigit a nobis pastoralis sollicitudo recentem

Secondly, it is certain that the illustrious Bishop of Meaux has only escaped an explicit censure for his part in the four Propositions of 1682, through the benign and paternal forbearance of the Holy See. Benedict XIV., in a letter to the Grand Inquisitor in Spain, on the subject of the works of Cardinal Henry Norris, adds: 'No doubt a work, will be known to you, printed and published not many years ago, which, though it bears no author's name, all men well know to be by Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, which he had written at the command of Louis XIV., King of France, but left in manuscript in certain libraries. The whole work is taken up with asserting the Propositions affirmed by the Gallican clergy in the Assembly of 1682. It is difficult, indeed, to find any other work equally opposed to the doctrine, which is received everywhere out of France, concerning the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, when defining *ex cathedrâ*, his superiority over Œcumenical Councils, his indirect power, if the high interests of religion and the Church require, over the supreme power of temporal princes. In the time of Clement XII. of happy memory, our immediate predecessor, there was serious consideration of proscribing the work; and at length it was decided to refrain from proscribing it, not only on account of

horum factam in synodo tot vitiis affectam adoptionem, velut temerariam, scandalosam, ac præsertim, post edita prædecessorum nostrorum decreta, huic Apostolicæ Sedi summopere injuriosam, reprobare ac damnare.'—Const. Pii VI. Auctorem Fidei, s. lxxxv.

the memory of an author who had deserved well in so many points respecting religion, but on account of the just fear of new dissensions.’ *

Thirdly, it is to be remembered that, so far from Gallicanism being an opinion open and recognised, which theologians and Catholics may hold and teach as freely as any other, it has been a question whether they who defend the four Articles after the repeated Pontifical condemnations are capable of sacramental absolution. ‘N., a confessor in France, asks whether he can and ought to absolve those ecclesiastics who refuse to submit themselves to the condemnation which the Holy See promulgated, of the four celebrated propositions of the Gallican clergy.’ The reply was as follows: ‘After diligently weighing the question proposed, the S. Penitentiaria decided in answer; The declaration of the Gallican Assembly in the year 1682 was indeed condemned by the Holy See, and the acts of the Assembly were rescinded, and declared to be null and void; but *no note of theological censure* was affixed to the doctrine contained in that declaration: wherefore nothing hinders that sacramental absolution be given to the priests who *in good faith*, and being *so persuaded in mind*, still adhere to that doctrine, so they be otherwise worthy of absolution.—Rome, Sept. 27, 1825.’ † From this, two things are evident. First, that if a

* Bullarium Ben. XIV. ed. Mechlin, xiii. Suppl. p. 105.

† Scavini Theol. Moral. Univ., tom. iv. pp. 297–8, ed. Milan. 1865.

note of theological censure had been attached to those propositions, no one could hold them without sin. And secondly, that *good faith* is required to clear a person of fault in holding opinions which have been condemned by the Holy See, although no such note of censure be attached.

Such is the history of the origin and immediate condemnation of the Gallican opinions. They had no antecedent traditions, no roots in the theology of the great Church of France. Cardinal Aguirre has abundantly shown that the Saints, doctors, episcopate, and schools of France taught one uniform doctrine with the Church of all other countries, as to the supremacy and infallibility of the Chair and successor of Peter. The Gallicanism of 1682 was a feeble imitation of the preamble of the 24th of Henry VIII., by which the schism of England was accomplished. The four Articles were imposed by Royal decree upon universities and schools, and continued to infect the teaching of France down to the end of the last century, as morbid humours run long in the blood. But the terrible scourge of the great Revolution finally expelled this and many other diseases engendered by the royal and secular corruption of the old French monarchy. The Acts of 1682 were succeeded by the Organic Articles; and the hierarchy and clergy of France have learned by a terrible and glorious conflict to rest upon the only Rock of ecclesiastical unity and truth. From time to time, here and there, the Gallican spirit may have shown itself, but in mitigated

and more temperate forms. The revolution of 1830 again passed over the Church in France. Its rejection by the State threw it finally upon the Holy See; and though royal and imperial influences have at times striven to warp the minds of a few distinguished prelates, the hierarchy of France has borne a foremost and a noble testimony to the supremacy, infallibility, and sovereignty of the Chair and successor of St. Peter. The Church in France of to-day is in perfect harmony with the theology of its ancient councils and doctors,* of S. Bernard, S. Anselm,

* Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, speaking of the Jesuits, who had publicly maintained the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, says: 'This is the opinion which alone is taught in Spain, Italy, and all other provinces of Christendom; so that the other, which is called the opinion of the Parisian School, is to be referred to that class of opinions which is tolerated. . . . The authority of pronouncing an infallible sentence in causes of faith is ascribed to the Supreme Pontiff by the consent of all universities, excepting only the ancient Sorbonne,' that is, in the time when Gerson began to sow the seeds of the contrary opinion. De Marca adds, 'The majority of Doctors, not only in Theology but even of Laws, adhere to the common opinion as resting upon foundations most difficult to disturb, and deride the opinion of the old Sorbonne.' Gonzalez De Infall. Roman. Pontiff. disp. xvii. § 2, Aguirre, Defensio Cath. S. Petri, disp. vii. §§ 1, 2, 3. The same is abundantly proved by Soardi, De Supremâ Rom. Pont. Auct., Præf. viii., ix.

Neque quemquam alium e Theologis Parisiensibus alicuius nominis allegatum invenio pro eadem opinione, saltem ex iis qui scripserunt usque ad initium huius sæculi, quin et Theophilus ipse loco citato, puncto 11 initio, testatur, *demptis iis paucis*, nimirum, Gersone, Petro Alliacensi, et Jacobo Almaino, cæteros pene omnes docere, definitiones Pontificum in iis quæstionibus esse fide divina certas.—Aguirre, *Def. Cathed. S. Petri*. Tract. 1, Disp. vii. § 9.

S. Thomas, and S. Bonaventure, who owed their nurture to her schools, and especially of the ancient University of Paris, where Gallicanism was unknown till the first seeds were sown by Gerson, in the fifteenth century. The stream of Catholic tradition is too deep and strong in that great people to be turned aside by so slight an obstruction. Its course was troubled for a while; but Gallicanism is now carried away by the return of the ancient and lineal belief. The prelates of France are at this time as little likely to return to the four propositions of

Nullus enim eousque, nisi forte heterodoxus aut schismaticus, invenitur, qui auctoritatem infallibilem negaverit Romano Pontifici, quoties ex cathedra sedis Apostolicæ definit aliquid, tamquam credendum ab omnibus fidelibus circa fidem aut mores, ut diserte ostendit Ruardus Tapper Orat. 3. Theologica Columna 8 pag. mihi 339, ubi testatur opinionem contrariam fuisse noviter introductam a quibusdam Parisiensium, contra doctrinam veterum omnium scriptorum, qui Romani Pontificis iudicium in quæstionibus fidei esse prorsus infallibile *concorditer ex Scripturis tradunt*. Itaque allegatione prædictorum, sive Patrum Galliae, sive Conciliorum, sive Theologorum Parisiensium, et quorumlibet aliorum antiquiorum Concilio Constantiensi supersedeo, ne actum agam. —Ibid. § 13, ad fin.

‘ Cette idée nouvelle, qui représente un ordre de choses diamétralement contraire à ce que le mot exprime, puisque, en réalité, sous le nom pompeux de libertés de l’Église gallicane se cachait l’oppression la plus tyrannique de cette même Église par le pouvoir civil, est éclosée en France, dans le seizième siècle. Le véritable noyau de ces prétendues libertés, c’étaient ces mêmes tendances schismatiques que nous avons déjà signalées, formulées en maximes législatives, auxquelles on avait ajouté quelques particularités réelles ou imaginaires de la discipline ecclésiastique de France.’—Phillips, *Du Droit Eccl.* tom. iii. p. 194.

Bossuet, as the Royal Astronomers are to the Ptolemaic system. The world has moved onward, and the Church has released itself from the servitude of royal patrons. The voice which went forth from the whole French episcopate when Pius IX. called upon them to contend with him for the rights and liberties of the Chair of Peter, and again when he published to the world the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864, is proof of the profound adherence of the bishops in France to the supreme prerogatives of the Vicar of Christ, which the world calls Ultramontaniam.

And now, lest it should be thought that what has here been said is remote from our present needs and duty, I will add the reasons which prompted me to dwell upon these topics. The one is, that a full and perfect belief of the authority of the faith is essential to the mission of the Church, especially in England; the other is, that the convoking of a General Council makes this subject timely, for reasons I will endeavour to give hereafter.

It is certain that the action of Catholic truth upon England has been weakened by the Gallican opinions. Although it is both true and self-evident that Gallicans maintain the infallibility of the Church; nevertheless the inconsistency of their theories, their incompatibility with the whole action and attitude of the Holy See, and the divisions they have apparently introduced among Catholics, have hindered the full effect of the Catholic theology upon the public opinion of this country. False as it is, nevertheless

the retort, 'What is the use of infallibility if you do not know where it resides?' has sufficed for two centuries to evade the force of the argument in which both Ultramontanes and Gallicans are agreed. A year ago, we had a notable proof of this. Bossuet's position was claimed as the justification for rejecting the unity and infallibility of the Universal Church. So long as these relics of the theology of a few French courtiers are suffered to pass without censure, we shall be exposed to this irrelevant but popular retort. Now I am well aware that Gallicanism has no place among us. It has no existence in any of our colleges; it is not to be found in our clergy, secular or regular. It has no part in our laity. The faithful in England are united to the Holy See with all their hearts and minds. There is between it and them no national or worldly interest to warp or to sway them. The highest, purest, and truest conception of the office of the Church, and of its head, as the Divinely-appointed channel of the faith, and as the guide of men in the way of salvation, is either explicitly or implicitly the faith which governs the Catholic Church in England. The Reformation has robbed it of the multitude of souls who ought to be its children; but it has, at least, delivered it from the personal, local, national, and secular traditions which infect and weaken the tone and spirit of some Catholic countries. England and Ireland are debtors, above all people, to bear their testimony to the highest and purest Catholic truth. In propor-

tion as we do so, the English people will listen to us. They have no sympathy in accommodations or compromises. Downright truth, boldly and broadly stated, like the ring of true metal, wins their confidence. If we believe the Holy Spirit of God to guide and to speak through the Church, by whom shall we hear His voice if not by the Head of the Church, in whom the plenitude of authority resides? The intimate relation of this question with the deepest and most vital parts of religion may be seen from the fact that it belongs to the subject of Divine Faith. The infallibility of the Church is the ordinary medium through which the material object, that is, the doctrine, of Divine faith becomes known to us. It is, therefore, of the highest necessity that we should clearly understand what is that medium, or order, which God has ordained for the promulgation and perpetuity of His revelation. The *dotes*, or endowments, of the Church and the prerogatives of its head, as the teacher of the Church, enter therefore directly into the subject of Faith. They are not mere ecclesiastical, nor, as many say, constitutional or external questions. They involve the certainty upon which we know what God has revealed; and therefore, if in one aspect they may be included in the treatise *De Ecclesia*, they belong intrinsically to the treatise *De Fide Divina*. It was the violation of this Divine economy which let in the flood of error upon our country. It is the restoration of this Divine economy in the intellect and the

conscience of men that will restore it to the truth. Let it not, then, be imagined that this subject is remote from our pastoral work; or that we can declare the truth, or guide souls as we ought, unless we clearly and firmly comprehend the Divine procedure in revealing and perpetuating the faith of Jesus Christ.

Thus much I have thought it well to say, because it would seem that the authoritative condemnation of Gallicanism, though known to students, and publicly notorious in days nearer to the event, has appeared to be at times forgotten. It has been thought to be a probable and time-honoured opinion, deriving itself from a high antiquity, and protected by great names. The episcopal spirit of English Protestantism has made it very acceptable in this country: and it has, indeed, no little affinity to it. The opinion which limits the prerogative of infallibility to S. Peter, and denies it to his successors, is, as Orsi* well points out, akin to that which admits the primacy of S. Peter, and denies it to his successors. The consequence of the latter opinion is to introduce anarchy in the place of order. The consequence of the former opinion is to introduce doubt in the place of certainty. The Divine order has united the supremacy of truth and of jurisdiction in the same person; and from the tradition of Fathers and Councils, it is evident that

* De Rom. Pontif. Auctoritate, tom. ii. 337.

the whole Church has believed the successor and the See of Peter to be not only supreme in power, but infallible in faith.

It is upon this basis that the decrees and declarations of the Pontiffs teaching *ex cathedrâ* bind the universal Church, not only to exterior submission but also to interior assent. Sfondratus expresses this truth as follows:—

‘The Pontiff does some things as man, some as prince, some as doctor, some as pope; that is, as head and foundation of the Church: and it is only to these (last-named) actions that we attribute the gift of infallibility. The others we leave to his human condition. As, then, not every action of the pope is papal, so not every action of the pope enjoys the papal privilege.’

‘This, then, is to act as Pontiff, and to speak *ex cathedrâ*, which is not within the competency of any (other) doctor or bishop.’ *

Gregory de Valentia teaches that, ‘As often as the Roman Pontiff uses in defining questions of faith the authority with which he is invested, the judgment

* *Quid sit Pontificem e Cathedra docere.*

‘Pontifex aliqua facit ut homo, aliqua ut Princeps, aliqua ut Doctor, aliqua ut Papa, hoc est, ut caput et fundamentum Ecclesiæ: et his solis actionibus privilegium infallibilitatis adscribimus: alias humanæ conditioni relinquimus: sicut ergo non omnis actio Papæ est Papalis, ita non omnis actio Papæ Papali privilegio gaudet.

‘Hoc ergo est, pontificem agere, et e Cathedrâ loqui, quod nulli doctorum aut episcoporum convenit.’—Sfondrati *Regale Sacerdotium*, lib. iii. sec. 1.

which he decrees to be the judgment of faith ought to be received by all the faithful, by divine precept, as a doctrine of faith. And he is to be believed to use that authority, so often as, in controversies of faith, he determines an opinion in such a way as to oblige the whole Church to receive it.' * Gonzalez says: 'Precisely the same is to be said of the Roman Pontiff, whenever he speaks to the whole Church from the Chair of Peter, and expounds to it, as supreme doctor, what it must believe as Catholic doctrine, what it must avoid as heretical falsity; what teaching it is to embrace as sound, what it is to beware of as noxious; and whenever, in his office of universal pastor, he points out to the sheep committed to him by Christ the pastures of virtues on the one hand, that they may be fed by them to everlasting life, and the poisonous growth of vices on the other, lest by tasting them they should bring upon themselves everlasting death. Under this view, then, we are to lay down and prove in the present treatise, by various arguments, as a thing most certain, that the Roman Pontiff, when he addresses the universal Church from the Chair of Peter, as the common

* Quotiescumque Romanus Pontifex in fidei quaestionibus definiendis, illa qua est praeditus auctoritate utitur, ab omnibus fidelibus tanquam doctrina fidei recipi divino praecepto debet ea sententia, quam ille decernit esse sententiam fidei. Toties autem eum ipsa auctoritate uti credendum est, quoties in controversia fidei, sic alterutram sententiam determinat, ut ad eam recipiendam obligare velit universalem Ecclesiam.—Greg. de Val. disp. v. q. 1. *De Objectis Fidei*, p. vii. q. 6.

teacher and supreme judge of questions appertaining to faith and morals, can never err. For to us it appears evident, either that there is no supreme judge in an assembly, or that the office belongs to him who presides over the whole; so that, in fact, it is not less certain, to our minds, that the Pontiff speaking *ex cathedrâ* to the whole Church cannot err, than that the Pontiff presides over the whole Church.*

Suarez is equally explicit: 'Nevertheless, it is a Catholic truth, that the Pontiff defining *ex cathedrâ* is the rule of faith, which cannot err, when he authoritatively propounds anything to the whole Church, as to be believed of divine faith: such is the teaching

* 'Idem prorsus de Romano Pontifice dicendum est, quoties à Cathedrâ Petri totam Ecclesiam alloquitur, eique ceu supremus Doctor exponit, quid tanquam Catholicum dogma credere debeat, quid tanquam hæreticum figmentum vitare: quam doctrinam amplecti ceu sanam, quam cavere ceu noxiam: et quoties, pro universalis Pastoris officio, commissis a Christo sibi ovibus salubria hinc demonstrat pascua virtutum, ut ad immortalem iis vitam alantur; venenifera inde vitiorum, ne iis degustandis sempiternam sibi mortem consciscant.

'Juxta hunc itaque sensum probandum statuendumque nobis in hac Tractatione omni argumentorum genere est, tanquam omnino certum, Romanum Pontificem, dum è Cathedrâ Petri universam Ecclesiam, ceu communis Magister, et supremus quæstionum ad mores atque fidem spectantium Judex alloquitur, errare neutiquam posse. Evidens namque nobis apparet, vel nullum in aliquo cœtu supremum Judicem esse, vel hoc munus ad eum, qui toti præest cœtui, pertinere; ut sane non certum minus nobis sit, Pontificem è Cathedrâ toti Ecclesiæ loquentem errare non posse, ac certum sit, Pontificem toti Ecclesiæ præesse.'—Gonzalez de *Infalibilitate Rom. Pontif.* Disp. i. sect. 1.

of all Catholic doctors at this day, and it is, I think, a thing certain by faith.'

'But the said Rogerus ventured to answer, both as to this definition (that of Boniface VIII. in Extrav. "Unam Sanctam," "De Major," etc.) and as to other pontifical decrees, that it is not certain *de fide* that the Pontiff defining without a General Council cannot err. But this answer is not only rash in the extreme, but also erroneous: for although formerly some Catholic doctors may have doubted or erred in this without pertinacity, yet at this day there is so consistent an agreement in the Church, and so concurrent a sense of Catholic writers as to this truth, that it is in no wise lawful to call it in question.'*

So also Sylvius teaches: 'The answer is certain *de fide*, that the judgment of the Roman Pontiff is infallible in determining matters of faith. So

* 'Nihilominus veritas Catholica est, Pontificem definientem ex Cathedrâ esse regulam fidei, quæ errare non potest, quando aliquid authenticè proponit universæ Ecclesiæ, tanquam de fide divinâ credendum; ita docent hoc tempore omnes Catholici doctores, et censeo, esse rem de fide certam.'—Suarez, Disp. v. *de Fide*, sect. 8, n. 4.

'At vero tam de hac definitione (Bonifacii VIII. in Extravag. "Unam Sanctam," "De Major:" &c.) quam de aliis decretis Pontificum ausus est dictus Rogerus respondere, non esse de fide certum, Pontificem definientem sine Concilio Generali non posse errare. Sed est responsio, non solum nimis temeraria, sed etiam erronea: nam licet olim fortasse aliqui Doctores Catholici sine pertinacia in hoc dubitaverint, vel erraverint, jam vero tam est constans Ecclesiæ consensus, et Catholicorum scriptorum concursus de hac veritate sententia, ut eam in dubium revocare, nullo modo liceat.'—Suarez, *De Fide*, disp. xx. s. 3. num. 22.

that when he defines *ex cathedrâ*, or when as Pontiff he proposes to the Church anything to be believed of faith, he can in no case err, whether he defines with a General Council or without it.’*

Duval, of the Sorbonne, says: ‘No one can deny that the proposition, “the Pontiff as Pontiff can decree contrary to the faith,” opens a way to disobedience, and gives occasion to doubt of many things which have been already received by the whole world, and determined by Pontiffs: a thing not without some appearance of temerity.

‘It is absolutely certain, that the Supreme Pontiff cannot err in decreeing *ex cathedrâ* either on faith or morals; and that immediately on his canonical election he is endowed by Christ with the privilege of infallibility.’†

Macedo in like manner affirms: ‘In my opinion,

* ‘*Responsio fide certa est, infallibile Romani Pontificis judicium in rebus fidei determinandis esse. Ita ut quando è Cathedrâ definit, sive quando ut Pontifex proponit Ecclesiæ quidpiam fide credendum, nullo casu possit errare, sive cum Generali Concilio desinat, sive sine illo.*’—Sylvius, *De Fidei Controv.* lib. iv. quæst. 2, art. 8.

† ‘*Nemo negare potest, quin hæc propositio, quod Pontifex ut Pontifex contra fidem possit decernere, viam faciat ad inobedientiam, occasionemque præbeat dubitandi de multis, quæ jam toto orbe recepta sunt, et a Pontifice judicata: quod non vacat specie aliquâ temeritatis.*—Duvall. ap. Suar. p. 590.

‘*Absolute certum est, summum Pontificem neque in fide neque in moribus ex Cathedrâ decernendis errare posse, statimque a suâ Canonicâ electione infallibilitatis privilegio a Christo donari.*’—Duvallius, *De Infallibilitate Rom. Pont.* pars ii. quæst. 1, p. 751, ap. Gonzalez.

whoever believes the authority of the pope defining *ex cathedrâ* to be absolutely infallible, and does not believe in what he defines, without doubt errs in faith, and, should he obstinately persist in his error, would be a heretic. And I confidently assert that those who either deny the Roman Pontiff to have succeeded to Peter in authority of faith and teaching, or at least lay down that the supreme pastor of the Church can err in judgment on faith, bring into the Church what is pestilent and pernicious.*

Toletus affirms: 'The Roman Pontiff, in his judgment on faith and morals, that is, while he judicially determines what is to be believed, or in morals what is to be done, cannot err. This conclusion is not one to be held (merely) as an opinion, but the opposite is a manifest error in faith, and Cano rightly says he does not doubt that, if it were proposed to a Council, it would be condemned as heresy.'†

Gonzalez sums up the doctrine of theologians as

* 'Censeo, qui absolute infallibilem esse Papæ ex Cathedrâ definientis auctoritatem, ac definitis non credat, eum laud dubie errare in fide; et si in errore obstinatus perseveret, hæreticum fore. Et fidenter assero, pestem eos Ecclesiæ, ac perniciem afferre, qui aut negant Romanum Pontificem Petro in fidei doctrinæque auctoritate succedere, aut certe adstruunt, summum Ecclesiæ pastorem errare in fidei judicio posse.'—Macedo, *Tessera Romana*, quæst. v. art. 1.

† 'Romanus Pontifex in judicio fidei et morum, id est, dum determinat judicialiter credenda, aut per mores facienda, non potest errare. Non est ista conclusio opinative tenenda, sed opposita est error manifestus in fide: et dicit Cano bene, se non dubitare, si Concilio proponeretur, quòd damnaretur ut hæresis.'—Toletus, in *Sec. Secund. S. Thom.* quæst. 1, art. 10, contr. 8, concl. 15.

follows: ‘Therefore the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, although it is not expressly defined by the Church, is yet proximately definable; because it is a theological truth, altogether certain, contained in the scriptures, and confirmed by the perpetual tradition of the Church, and the common consent of the fathers and doctors: and, as Bellarmin said, the opposite doctrine “appears altogether erroneous, and proximate to heresy, so that it might well be declared heretical by the judgment of the Church.” And though it be not *de fide*, as to the obligation of believing it, imposed on all by the Church, yet it is *de fide* as to its *object*; and also as to its *obligation* with regard to those who are certain, on grounds which form their conviction, that this truth is revealed: and this certainty almost all Catholic doctors have, except some few in France. But in a thing of so much weight, all are bound to examine the grounds on which rests the proof that the Roman Pontiff defining *ex cathedrâ* cannot err: for whosoever denies to the Roman Pontiff the privilege of infallibility granted to him by Christ, whether from not having diligently examined the controversy, or because he is carried away by some human motive, and so errs in forming his judgment, would not be held guiltless before God; inasmuch as his error would be culpable, and his ignorance vincible.’ *

* ‘Itaque infallibilitas Romani Pontificis, licet non sit expresse definita ab Ecclesiâ, est tamen proxime definibilis, quia est veritas

If it be said that this has not been defined and proposed by the Church as *de fide*, it may be answered first, that many truths of Divine revelation have not been defined. All that is defined is indeed *de fide*, but not all that is *de fide* has been defined. The revelation of Christianity extends far beyond the definitions which, in condemnation of error, the Church has made progressively from age to age. The infallibility of the successor of Peter, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, as universal teacher, was not contradicted till the preludes of the so-called Reformation began to work. And wheresoever the contradiction has gained a hold, a decline of faith has followed. The events of the last century in France issued naturally from

theologica, omnino certa, contenta in Scripturis, et perpetuâ Ecclesiæ traditione et communi consensu Patrum ac Doctorum firmata; et, ut ajebat Bellarminus, opposita doctrina *videtur omnino erronea, et hæresi proxima, ut meritò possit judicio Ecclesiæ hæretica declarari*. Et licet non sit de fide, quoad obligationem credendi intimatam omnibus ab Ecclesiâ, est tamen de fide quoad objectum, et quoad obligationem respectu eorum qui certi sunt hanc veritatem esse revelatam, ob argumenta quibus convincuntur: hanc autem certitudinem habent omnes fere Doctores Catholici, exceptis paucis nonnullis ex Galliâ. Omnes autem in re tanti momenti tenentur fundamenta expendere, quibus probatur Romanum Pontificem definientem è Cathedrâ non posse errare; nam si quis negaret Romano Pontifici privilegium infallibilitatis ipsi a Christo concessum, vel quia controversiam hanc diligenter non examinavit; vel quia aliquâ passionē humanâ abreptus erravit in judicio ferendo, is apud Deum excusationem non haberet; quia ejus error esset culpabilis, et ejus ignorantia vincibilis.—Gonzalez, ut supra, disp. xvii. sect. ii. 11.

See also Raynaudi, *Corona Aurea*, ‘Romanus Pontifex docens ex Cathedrâ errare non potest.’—App. tom. x. p. 146.

the Declaration of 1682. The incoherence of admitting a Supremacy and denying its infallible action encouraged and provoked the spirit of scepticism and mockery in the bad, and of doubt and hesitation in the good, which prepared for the Encyclopedia and the Voltairian unbelief. Gallicanism was a political aberration, and France has dearly expiated it. With this before our eyes, it is our duty towards the faith, towards the Divine order of the Church, towards the flocks committed to us, and towards our country for which we labour and pray, to testify to the whole revelation of truth, and to the whole Divine economy ordained for its perpetuity and its preservation in purity and integrity. It is not then needless, or gratuitous, still less is it polemical and hostile, to declare in the fullest and most explicit way the truths which are embodied in this great Centenary. They may be summed up in the words of S. Leo: ‘The solidity of that faith which was commended in the Prince of the Apostles is perpetual; and as that which Peter believed in Christ abides for ever, so does that for ever abide which Christ instituted in Peter. . . . The order of truth, therefore, is abiding, and Blessed Peter, persevering in the firmness which he had received as of a Rock, has not forsaken the helm of the Church.’* Or in the words of S. Peter Chrysologus, ‘Blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his

* S. Leon. Opp. Serm. ii. in Die Assumptionis suæ, tom. i. pp. 51–52, Ed. Lugd. 1700.

own See, holds out to all who seek it the true faith.’* Or in those of one who, with a profusion of learning and irresistible evidence, has destroyed for ever the Acts of 1682: ‘This tradition of the Fathers does not only derive from Peter to his successor a general primacy, but also a firmness which never fails in propounding the dogmas of faith from Peter’s Chair; nay, it exhibits Peter himself, that is, the immoveable Rock of Faith, the pillar and foundation, as still living and teaching in his Chair and See; it regards the Roman Pontiffs *as one person with Peter*; and it describes them with the same honours, and invests them with the same titles, as Peter himself.†’

I will now go on to the second reason which suggested what has hitherto been said.

Subordinate in importance to the Primacy and Chair of Peter, but far beyond that of the celebration of the Centenary, is the other subject announced by the Holy Father in the Allocution of June 26; namely, the intention to convene a General Council. The words which fell from his lips will be long remembered, and the intense response of heart and mind with which they were heard.

The Holy Father spoke as follows:—‘Nothing is more desired by us, venerable brethren, than that we should gather from this your union with the Apostolic See the fruit which we hold to be the most salutary

* S. Petri Chrys. Ep. ad Eutychen apud S. Leon. M. Opp. tom. i. pp. 241–2, Ed. Lugd. 1700.

† Orsi de Rom. Pontif. Auctor. tom. ii. 338.

and auspicious. We have, indeed, long pondered in our mind, as was known to many of our venerable brethren, as occasion needed, a purpose which, so soon as the opportunity we desire shall come, we trust to be able to effect, namely, that we may hold a Sacred Œcumenical and General Council of the bishops of the whole world, in which, after united counsels and labours together, the necessary and healing remedies, by God's help, may be applied to the many evils which the Church is suffering. From this, as we greatly hope, it will come to pass that the light of Catholic truth may diffuse its saving illumination in the darkness by which the minds of men are enveloped, so that they may see and press onwards, by the grace of God, in the true path of salvation and of justice. From this, also, it will come to pass that the Church, like a conquering army set in array, may repel the hostile assaults of adversaries, break their power, and triumphing over them, propagate and spread more widely the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth.'

We have here, in his own words, the reasons of this greatest act of Pontifical government over the Church; namely, the union of counsels and labours to find and apply remedies to the evils of our time; to manifest more luminously to those who are in darkness the light of truth; to consolidate and concentrate more and more closely the force and power of the Church, for the twofold work of breaking the power of its adversaries, and of spreading far and wide the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth.

Hitherto, in what I have said, we have been contemplating the perpetual supremacy of Peter, both in truth and jurisdiction, throughout the Church diffused in all the world. Now, we have to contemplate a higher and more sovereign exercise of his prerogatives in the Church congregated in Council.

It belongs to the successors of Peter alone to convoke, to direct, to prorogue, to translate, to confirm, and to dissolve the Œcumenical Councils of the Church. The highest prerogatives of the Pontificate are partly dormant while the Church is diffused, but are fully exercised when the Church is congregated. More than this; the prerogative of Peter as the confirmer of his brethren is never so explicitly manifest as in the direction and confirmation of Councils. Every Council of the Church, from Nice to Trent, has reflected more visibly and vividly the supremacy and infallibility of the Chair of Peter. The Council of Constance, with an exceptional and explicit act, recognises and declares the same Divine order. Supreme while as yet the See of Peter was vacant, or was claimed by competitors of doubtful election, it submitted at once when the person of the Apostle was visible upon his Chair. It would be too long to draw out in full the historical proofs of the fact, that in no part of his action upon the Church has the successor of Peter more supremely exercised his singular prerogatives than in the series of the Œcumenical Councils. For such as doubt this assertion I may give reference to proofs, which will be

found more than enough. The three following works will suffice. Let any candid man examine ‘*Turrecremata de Conciliis*,’ ‘*Orsi de Romani Pontificis Auctoritate*,’ ‘*Brancatus de Lauræa De Decretis Ecclesiæ*.’ All that can now be done is to sum up briefly a few of the chief heads, and to mark the outline of the subject.

Although General Councils, apart from the Pontiff, have the assistance of the Holy Spirit, yet they are not thereby necessarily infallible: but when directed by their head in the definitions they make, or when confirmed by him, they cannot err.*

The decrees of General Councils, made apart from their head, or not confirmed by their head, even though they be true, yet do not impose the obligation of belief or obedience upon the Church.†

‘A Council is not truly general, nor does it represent the Universal Church, if it be apart from its head, or act without him, or without subordination to him: for then it would be a headless body. Therefore, it is by the influx of the head into the body that the Council acts, and by the assistance of the Holy Ghost it acts infallibly, so as to bind all the faithful. Hence, S. Leo the Great says of the Decree of the Council of Chalcedon against Eutyches: “What things the Lord had defined before by our ministry, He confirmed by the irreversible

* *Brancatus de Lauræa, De Decretis Eccl., Disp. v. Art. ii., s. 82.*

† *Ibid. s. 83.*

assent of the whole brotherhood (*i.e.* episcopate) that He might show that it (the dogma) truly proceeded from Himself, that what had been first confirmed by the first See of all, the judgment of the whole Christian world received; that in this also the members should be in accordance with the head." Therefore, in the judgment of S. Leo, by the influx of the head of the Church, that is, of the Pope, into the Council, it decides infallibly, so as to oblige (the faithful); and the confirming of the judgment of Councils is proof that they have not erred, but have spoken by the dictate of the Holy Ghost.* 'This uninterrupted practice (of asking confirmation) signifies that the whole Church well knows that from the head the influx (of infallible truth) descends into the members. And thus it is, that if the decrees of faith made in Councils are infallible, so as to oblige the faithful to belief, they should know that it comes principally from the head, infallibly attesting that the Councils have been directed by the Holy Spirit.' †

In proof and exemplification of this influx of the infallible direction of the head in General Councils, Brancatus de Lauræa gives the following:

The Council of Nice was presided over by the Roman legates, and confirmed by S. Sylvester. ‡

The Council of Constantinople was guided in its

* Brancatus de Lauræa, De Decretis Eccl., Disp. v. Art. ii. 105,

† Ibid. Art. ii. s. 103.

‡ Muzzarelli, De Auctor. Rom. Pontif. tom. i. p. 91.

condemnation of the Macedonian heresy by the decree of Pope Damasus, who had already condemned it in a Synod at Rome. The Council was in part confirmed, so far as the condemnation of the Macedonian heresy and the declaration of the Nicene faith; but Pope Damasus rejected its canons.

The Council of Ephesus was directed by the letters of Pope Cœlestine to condemn Nestorius, whom he had already condemned in a Council at Rome.

The Council of Chalcedon was directed by S. Leo to condemn Eutyches, whom he had already condemned. The Fathers of the Council would define nothing until they had heard the *Tome*, or dogmatic letter of the Pontiff. They then answered in words which since then have become a sacred tradition and a theological principle: 'Peter has spoken by Leo.'

The Second Council of Constantinople would make no decree respecting the Three Chapters till Pope Vigilius had condemned them.

The Third Council of Constantinople, by direction of Pope Agatho, who in a Council at Rome had already condemned the Monothelite heresy, again condemned it. Pope Agatho wrote to the Council, exhorting them to liberate the Church from error, and to declare the true faith, 'which was founded upon the firm rock, that is, of this Church of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, which by his favour and protection remains pure from all error.' To this the Fathers answered, as at Chalcedon, 'Receiving the suggestions directed . . . by the most holy and

blessed Agatho, Pope of the ancient Rome; and another suggestion made by the Council, subject to him, and following closely the things contained in it, we so judge, profess, and believe,' &c. Domitius, Bishop of Prusa, declared that the 'suggestions of our Father Agatho were to be received as dictated by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of the holy and blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter.'* Finally, the emperor, writing to a synod of Western bishops, declares that all the Fathers of the Council were of one faith both in mind and in speech, and venerated the letter of Agatho 'as the voice of the Divine Peter himself.'†

Such is the evidence of the first six General Councils, before what is called the division of the East and West. It is not necessary, and it is not now possible, to descend lower in the series; but all acknowledge that in proportion as we advance, the evidence of the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiffs is more explicitly and undeniably found.‡ It is to be here

* Orsi De Rom. Pontif. Auct. tom. i. P. i. p. 410, 412.

† Ibid. p. 413.

‡ The three following Councils may be given as examples.

'Ipsa quoque Sancta Romana Ecclesia Summum Principatum super universam Ecclesiam obtinet, quem se ab ipso Domino in Beato Petro, cujus Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse recognoscit; sic, si quæ de Fide subortæ fuerint quæstiones, suo debent judicio definiri.'—*Council. Lugd. Œcum. II.*

'Definimus, Romanum Pontificem in universum Orbem habere Primatum, et successorem esse Petri, totiusque Ecclesiæ Caput, et Christianorum Patrem ac Doctorem existere: et ipsi in Beato

observed, that the ruling idea present to the Councils was the See of Peter and the Faith of Peter: that the Councils did not claim to themselves infallibility, in virtue either of the promise 'Where two or three are gathered together, there am I in the midst of them,' nor 'Behold, I am with you all days.' The Divine promise always before them was, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.' It was the presence and faith of Peter, both of them indefectible, by Divine assistance, in the person of his successor, to which they turned as the source of direction in their deliberations and the seal of confirmation to their decrees. It is to be observed, also, that before the Councils of Constantinople I., Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople III. met, the Roman Pontiffs had already condemned the heresies in question. Their subsequent condemnations added publicity, notoriety, promulgation, not certainty or validity, to the previous condemnations of the Pontiffs. But those previous Pontifical acts gave infallible direction to their decrees, and made them of obligation to all the Churches.

The whole doctrine and practice here expressed was summed up in the Council of Trent. It recognised more amply than any other Council of the

Petro regendi Ecclesiam a D. N. Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse, quemadmodum etiam in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum, et in Sacris Canonibus continetur.'—*Concil. Flor.* Sess. ult.

'Dubia Fidei declarare, ad Sedem duntaxat Apostolicam pertinet.'—*Concil. Vienn. XV. Generale*, sub Clem. V.

Church, even than those over which the Sovereign Pontiffs in person had presided, the supreme legislative and executive authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It was directed in all its sessions by his guidance. It was closed and confirmed by him. The execution of its decrees rested in his hands. The reigning Pontiff, Pius IV., by three supreme Pontifical acts, provided: First, that all ecclesiastical prescriptions and customs contrariant to its decrees should be null and void. Secondly, that no prescription or custom thenceforward should ever acquire force against the Council of Trent. Thirdly, that no one, under pain of excommunication, should interpret its decrees; reserving all interpretation to himself and his successors.*

The supreme authority of the successor of Peter over the Church can hardly be more visibly proved than by the fact that of the Councils claiming to be General, eighteen are approved as such, eight are condemned and annulled, six are partly approved and partly annulled; and this by the sole authority of the Roman Pontiff.†

With these principles before us, we shall be better able to appreciate the facts of this time, and to dispose of certain popular misunderstandings, which have been laid down with great confidence, and with claims to superior knowledge. We are told that the holding of a General Council was not the spontaneous intention

* Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, p. 157.

† Bellarmin, de Conciliis, lib. i. c. vi. vii.

of the Pope, but was forced upon him ; and that if he is willing to convene it, he is the only person in Rome that is so ; that Rome hates Councils, and that Councils are fatal to Rome ; that the future General Council is a reaction against excessive pretensions, and will impose limits on them ; that it will confirm the past acts of Popes on Gallican principles, and review or modify the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.

For the first three hundred years no General Council ever met : for the last three hundred no General Council has been convened. In the eighteen centuries of the Church only eighteen General Councils have been held. It is clear, therefore, as Bellarmin teaches, that though General Councils are useful, and sometimes necessary for particular times, they are not necessary to the office of the Church. The Church is not infallible in virtue of General Councils, but General Councils are infallible in virtue of the infallibility of the Church. The whole Church, both the *Ecclesia Docens* and the *Ecclesia Discens*, diffused throughout the world, is infallible at all times. The Church discharges its office as witness, judge, and teacher always, and in all places. The See of Peter and the episcopate diffused throughout the world are so assisted by the perpetual presence of the Spirit of truth that they can never err as witness, judge, or teacher. In the three hundred years before the Council of Nice, the infallible voice of the Church sufficed for the promulgation and diffusion of the faith ; in the intervals between Council and Council

the Church was perpetually infallible in its declarations of truth, and in its condemnations of error. In the three hundred years since the Council of Trent, the Church has taught with the same infallibility. The line of Pontiffs, from Pius IV. who confirmed the Council of Trent, to Pius IX. who defined the Immaculate Conception, have taught with the same supreme and infallible voice. Witness, as a few out of many, the condemnations of Baius, Jansenius, Molinos; the Bull *Unigenitus*; the condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia and, more recently, of Lamennais, Hermes, Frohschammer, and of the errors enumerated in the Syllabus. To the declaration of these truths, and to the condemnation of these errors, no act of the Church in Council is required. They are already full and perfect by the plenitude of the Pontifical authority. Peter has spoken by Innocent, by Alexander, by Clement, and by Pius. If, at any time, in an Œcumenical Council, any dogma be defined which has been already defined by the Pope, or by other General Councils, the bishops act as judges, but are already bound to judge in conformity to what is already defined. But if the defining of anything not yet defined is in question, they are the judges in such sense that their judgments have no force to bind the conscience until the assent and confirmation of the Supreme Pontiff has been given. It was thus that the fathers at Chalcedon declared that Peter spoke by Leo; and the Fathers of Constantinople recognised his

voice in the letter of Pope Agatho. In this they acknowledged that which Leo and Agatho had already promulgated, by their prerogative of supreme and universal teachers, to be the Catholic Faith. It was thus also that the Fathers of Trent defined the doctrine of original sin; which, till then, had rested upon the infallible declarations of S. Innocent I. It was thus they declared the Canon of the sacred books, which till then had rested upon the authority of S. Gelasius; and also condemned the errors of the so-called Reformers, already condemned by Leo the Tenth.

The future General Council, then, whensoever it be convened, will not turn back upon any of the acts of the Church or of its head; which already, in virtue of the Divine assistance, are, as it is called, irreformable and infallible. Its office will be of another kind, bearing upon the present and the future relations of the Church to the world.

If it be asked, then, what need is there of a General Council? it may be answered at once that the state of the whole Christian society of the world is such that no other remedy is proportioned to its need.

For three hundred years, perpetual changes have been working; a series of revolutions has swept away the old usages of the Christian world; an accumulation of errors and of evils, intellectual and moral, has gathered in every country.

Bellarmin enumerates six causes for which General Councils are usefully convened. The last is exactly in point:—‘The sixth cause is the general reformation

of abuses and vices which creep into the Church; for although the Pontiff can of himself make laws for the whole Church, nevertheless these things are far more acceptably carried through when the Supreme Pontiff makes such laws with the assent of a General Council.' *

Even in the natural order, the benefits are obvious. More is seen by many eyes; and the conflict of many opinions, when men are scattered, is allayed by their coming together in counsel. Councils have a special efficacy against heresies and schisms; above all, when the authority of the Pontiff is the point chiefly denied, as in the Greek and the Protestant separations. The decisions of such Councils, if they do not satisfy the authors of heresy and of schism, nevertheless confirm both truth and unity, and set a mark upon their opposites which wither their growth and ensure their fall.

Every General Council has been convened to meet some special heresy or evil of the day. The first six were convened to condemn heresies, the seventh to condemn the Iconoclasts, the eighth for the cause of Photius, the ninth for the recovery of the Holy Land, the tenth against the claims of anti-popes, the eleventh against the Waldenses, the twelfth against heresies and for the Holy Land, the thirteenth against the usurpation of the Emperor Frederick II., the fourteenth against the errors of the Greeks, the fifteenth against various heresies, the sixteenth for the reunion

* Bellarm. de Conciliis, lib. i. c. ix.

of the East, the seventeenth for the healing of schisms and for questions of public law, the eighteenth against the great Lutheran heresy, and for the correction of moral evils.

The mediæval Councils had to deal not so much with heresies as with mixed matters of secular power and abuse; and that because, from the time of S. Gregory the Great, a Christian world, with all its complex relations to the unity of the faith and the Church, had been growing and ripening to maturity. The contest for investitures and immunities belongs to a later period of the work and warfare of the Church. Every age, therefore, has its needs and dangers; and these constitute the reasons for new laws, and, if so judged expedient, for a Council. What, then, are the causes requiring a General Council at this time?

The first and most obvious cause for the convening of a General Council is the internal state of the Church itself. Of the last General Council, the greater part had relation to the discipline and administration of the Church in the states and kingdoms of the Catholic world. Of the twenty-five Sessions of Trent, many are headed 'De Reformatione;' that is, for the correction of evils, usurpations, and abuses, and for the readjustment of the practices and institutions of the various Catholic countries to the immutable laws and principles of the Catholic Church. In the discipline of the Church there are, therefore, two elements: one which is fixed and changeless, namely, the Divine law, both moral and positive, of which the Church is

the witness and the guardian; the other is variable and accidental, depending upon the conditions of society and of nations. Of the former, the Holy Sacraments, and all that attaches to their administration in form and matter, may be taken as example; of the latter, the laws of benefice and patronage, the forms of tribunals and of procedure. It is obvious that in this latter kind, the last three hundred years have rendered necessary an extensive revision of the Catholic discipline. Benefices, patronage, and tribunals have been swept away in almost every country. The Church has to reorganise itself upon its changeless principles, but in contact with new conditions of society.

Another cause requiring the deliberation of the Church, is the change of its relations, both those of the Holy See, and of the several churches of its communion, to the civil powers of every country. Since the Council of Trent, the revolutions in France, Austria, and Italy have separated the civil powers from the unity of the Church. The nations remain Catholic as before, but many public laws are at variance with the laws of the Church. The old forms of usage and of arrangement need revision, in order to bring into peaceful co-operation the two supreme authorities on which the welfare of society reposes. If the governments of the world know their own highest interests, they will recognise the necessity of entering into loyal and honourable relations of confidence and co-operation with a power

which pervades, sometimes a large proportion, sometimes the whole population, subject to their civil rule. The Church pervades at least one-fourth, if not a third, of the population of Great Britain and its colonies; about a fifth of the United States; nearly a half of the Prussian monarchy; and almost the entire population of other great kingdoms; and the influence of religion is that which most deeply affects the loyalty and fidelity of nations. It is of the highest moment to the civil powers of the world to readjust their relations with the Catholic Church; for so long as the public laws are at variance with its divine rights and liberties, internal peace and fidelity are hardly to be secured. Poland and Ireland are proofs beyond question.

Again, the Church has at all times endeavoured to sustain the Christian society of nations from the downward tendency which is always carrying it towards the mere natural order. Human society is the creation of God in the order of nature. But Christian society is the creation of God in the order of grace. Political society, in its natural state, rests upon humanity and the moral law known by the light of nature. Christendom rests upon the Incarnation; and was created by the faith, sacraments, unity, and authority of the Church. The confederation or family of nations is natural society elevated to the order of grace, and governed by laws which flow from both natural and supernatural fountains. The union of these two laws and jurisdictions, and the supreme

direction of the supernatural over the natural law, constitutes the Christian order of the world, as expressed in the old formulas of the concord of the Church and the empire, or of the Church and the civil powers. Such is and always will be the Christian and Catholic jurisprudence. If it cease to live in the kingdoms of the world, their public laws and actions, it will always remain indelible in the theology and principles of the Catholic Church. The theory of the separation of Church and State, and the independence of the two, and of free Churches in free states, if enunciated as an absolute truth, is an error at variance with the mission of the Church to mankind. If it be affirmed only as a statement of the tendency of the world, and of the events before our eyes, it is an undoubted fact. The civil powers everywhere for these three hundred years have striven, first, to establish a superiority of the civil over the spiritual, as in France and Austria, and failing this, to separate themselves and to claim an independence of all spiritual authority. The effect of this is to reduce the Christian society of the world to the natural order; to divest the State of all religious character; to make it external to the faith, and to the Church; or, in a word, to desecrate that which the providence of God through the action of His Church had consecrated. I will not stop here to point out the application of all this to the temporal power of the Sovereign Pontiff; nor to show how large and luminous an interpretation it affords of the inflexibility with which he has for

twenty years refused all cession and compromise of this Christian order, of which the Holy See is the source and guardian. It is inevitable that a General Council, in which the relations of the Church in all lands to the civil powers throughout the world must be calmly revised by men of the maturest wisdom and calmest temper, under the heaviest private and public responsibility, cannot fail to disperse the clouds of empty declamation which have obscured the truth. Men are coming to perceive that the Christian society of the world is menaced; and that its preservation depends upon a firm and fearless maintenance of the great laws and principles of Christianity, as the providence of God has ordained them.

So much of the causes internal to the Church.

But there are to be found other reasons of great interest to every one who is animated by a love of souls and of the truth and honour of our Divine Lord, in the state of Christian nations separated from the unity of the Catholic Church. It is impossible to look at the East without a profound sorrow for the desolate Churches of Persia, Armenia, Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and of Greece. The memories of saints and doctors hang like a light over their spiritual children now in the darkness of schism and heresy. The old sanctuaries, desecrated and forsaken, still stand, awaiting the day of their reconciliation. The Mahometan power is wasting away. There was a time when all the Christian powers of Europe could

not expel it from the Holy Land. Now, it could not maintain itself an hour, if the jealousies of Christians did not secure its dominion over the Christian inheritance. The time of its fall, or of its migration, cannot be far off. But as it is now, there might be no bar to the return of the East to the unity of Jesus Christ. It is but just to acknowledge that the Porte has manifested of late to its Christian subjects a singular toleration and equity. What the Council of Florence failed to do, another Council, by the help of the Spirit of God, may accomplish. There is a bond between the East and the Holy See which has never been broken; the love and worship of the Immaculate Mother of God; and by this bond, Pius IX. has drawn more closely than any other Pontiff the Churches of the East to the See of Peter. The definition of the Immaculate Conception has been recognised by Orientals to be no more than their constant and universal belief. The indiction of the Council, in whatsoever year it be, will be fixed for the 8th of December, a day of augury and power. The patriarchs and bishops of the East who surrounded Pius IX. the other day, brought to my mind the first-fruits of the nations who came up to Bethlehem. There were some who had travelled forty days—one who had travelled longer still—before he could reach an ordinary road. When I saw them surround the Vicar of our Lord and kiss his feet, almost by force, I prayed God that the day might be hastened when the sun shall arise upon Asia restored to the unity of the only fold.

And, lastly, there are thoughts nearer home, and more intimate to our hearts. The great separation of the West cannot continue for ever. If the General Council call on the East to return to the peace of Jesus Christ, the West will not be forgotten. And the voice which calls will not call in vain. There is a movement of the Spirit of God in the hearts of those who, in Germany and England, for the last three hundred years have been separated from the centre of Christendom. Men are weary of uncertainties, contentions, disappointments. They are beginning to be convinced in intellect of the wrongs which have been done in ages past to the unity of the faith and to the authority of the Church; they are disturbed in conscience at the evident incoherence of the state they have inherited with the great laws of Divine revelation. There is a desire to heal the wounds of the past, to be reconciled with the great family of Christendom, to receive once more the benediction of the first pastor of the Christian Church, to worship again in the midst of the world-wide sanctuaries and solemnities of the Word made flesh. All these things may be mingled with emotion and imagination, with unreality and a superficial piety. But even so they are in the main, in their origin, and in their end, right and good. If, however, this be true of some, very certainly of a large number we may believe with joy and thankfulness that their desires and aspirations are heartfelt and real, and spring from the inspirations of grace. A General Council has been the desire and

dream of multitudes of the highest and noblest minds, out of the Catholic Church, in England in these last three hundred years. I hardly dare to speak with the precision of truth, lest I should seem to be severe and unkindly. But the suppression of truth is not charity; and silence in such times as these is suppression. The General Council which will be held hereafter, if God so permit, will be convened by the Roman Pontiff; and will be composed of those who believe, as an article of Divine faith, the visible unity and infallibility of the Catholic and Roman Church. Its first act will be to reaffirm, in all its amplitude, the Holy Catholic Faith as defined and declared by the sacred canons of the Council of Trent.

‘The Council of Trent was a Council of recapitulation. It was the heir of all the definitions of the Church. The heresies of old assailed here and there a doctrine of the faith: but God had permitted now a heresy to assail, in a whole line of errors, not only the whole line of the faith, but also the Divine authority of the Church itself. The Council of Trent, therefore, summed up in its decrees what other Councils had declared. All their voices spoke by its one voice, as, on the day of Pentecost, all the Apostles spoke by Peter. The Councils of Africa again promulgated their decrees of original sin; the Council of Orange, of preventing grace; the Council of Vienne, of the infusion of spiritual habits in regeneration; the Council of Toledo, of the Procession of the Holy Ghost; the Council of Lateran, of the mystery

of transubstantiation; the Council of Florence, which was itself the summary of the Councils of the East, spoke in all their names; all these received their expression in the decrees of Trent. . . . The profession of faith promulgated by Pius IV. recapitulates the doctrine of the whole Church, East and West, in one, and presents it to the world in ample array, bright and resplendent, over against the prolific errors of these later days—restless with a perverse intellectual activity—and fronts its advance, reaching from wing to wing.’*

We gladly recognise whatever zeal for doctrinal truth is to be found among Protestants of every denomination; among Anglicans, for many Catholic truths, and for approximations to Catholic doctrine; among Protestant Dissenters, for those primary and personal truths relating to our Divine Lord and His redemption, and to the soul and its union with Him. All these truths, in the main, and apart from imperfections of conception and statement, are Christian and Catholic; portions of our inheritance of faith, and of the deposit committed to the Church. The Reformation, which shattered so much of the order of Christian truth, preserved all these. But the tendencies called into activity by the Reformation have been continually destroying the belief of these truths in every Protestant country. Nevertheless, there remains in Germany, England, and Scotland a strong

* Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, pp. 153-4.

traditional belief in many great Christian verities; which, though undermined and menaced, are still held and revered piously by multitudes. Such persons are becoming daily sensible that so far, at least, a common belief unites them to us; and that we oppose to the infidelity which threatens them, a firm and unyielding front. All such minds cannot fail to see in a General Council a powerful witness in support of Christianity. They will know that we are strengthening and confirming the truths which they retain. They will feel to have a share in what is passing, and a sympathy in our acts. It is certain, also, that upon a multitude of minds who are wavering and doubtful, seeking for a foundation on which to rest, and an authority to which to listen, the voice of a General Council will have great power. The condition of Germany, England, and Scotland is in marked contrast to their state three hundred years ago. Protestantism has varied, changed, put off its original type, and unfolded itself into a multitude of irreconcilable forms. It has been always in flux, and is now evidently in rapid dissolution. In such a moment the immutability of the faith manifests itself; and the intellectual and moral action of the Church in Council cannot fail to penetrate both the intellects and the wills of men. The Council of Trent fixed the epoch after which Protestantism never spread. The next General Council will probably date the period of its dissolution. It is certain that the influence of the Church so assembled to deliberate and to legislate for

the needs and perturbations of the Christian world will have a powerful effect to convince and to persuade, to mitigate and to subdue. If the proclaiming of an amnesty dissolves the organisation of political sedition by appealing to the hearts of men, how much more must the call of the Church of Jesus Christ to peace and charity attract the elements of faith and piety which are scattered among the divisions of Christendom? It is a heavenly invitation to 'men of good will,' and by some it will be surely heard. Call it superstition or dreaming, as men may, I am confident that the spectacle of the Church deliberating in Council on the wounds and miseries of the Christian world, will sink into their hearts. A virtue will go out of it, and a manifold influence will spread from it which will powerfully affect the intellect, the conscience, the will, the whole spiritual nature. The sun and the shower ripen the fruits of the earth, whether we will or no. The seed of the kingdom springs even among the tares, while men sleep. The action of the Church upon the world is beyond the power of man to exclude or to control. He may shut his eyes, but he cannot cover the sun. He may turn his back to the light, but he cannot darken the earth. Moreover, there is another power which will work with us. '*Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.*' The Spirit of God is working internally in all men. And when the Church speaks to their ear, the Spirit moves their hearts to answer. There will be lights in the reason, promptings in the conscience, aspirations in

the heart, movements in the will, which flow from the Spirit of Truth and Grace upon all to whom the presence and the voice of the Church in Council reaches; and of these, some will refuse, many will obey. It is a time of visitation, in which, by a special intervention, God calls to the nations. It is a providential renewal of the declaration, God 'will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth;' * and of the invitation, 'The Spirit and the Bride say, come: and he that heareth, let him say, come. And he that thirsteth, let him come; and he that will, let him take the water of life freely.' †

I do not pretend, Reverend and dear Brethren, to know the motives which have determined the Holy Father to convene a General Council, further than his Allocution has expressed them; but those I have touched on are some which we may ourselves easily conceive. We may also anticipate many other reasons for thankfulness and hope as to the consequences of such an event.

(1.) And, first, it is evident that the conscious unity, universality, and power of the Church must be indefinitely elicited and strengthened by meeting in Council. As has been already said, no Pontificate for three hundred years has so brought the Church together as that of Pius IX. Three times the bishops have met, have become known to the Sovereign Pontiff and to each other, and have been united in solemn

* 1 Tim. ii. 4.

† Apoc. xxii. 17.

public acts, and in the unanimous declaration of great Catholic principles. A consciousness of absolute unanimity and mutual support pervades the episcopate of all nations at this time more intensely than, perhaps, at any period in past history. The Church has acted and spoken three times in these last years; and the unity of mind and spirit which, by the grace of Divine faith, pervades it, has been extended even to matters which, though not of faith, are in contact with faith. It may be affirmed, therefore, that there never was a moment when the episcopate was so compact, so prepared for action, and so closely united to its head. Of this it is thoroughly conscious, and this consciousness gives a vast force to all its acts. Firm and inflexible as the Sovereign Pontiff has ever been, he has not hesitated to declare that the unanimous support of the bishops has added to him a greater courage and strength. The bishops of Italy, in these last ten years, have exhibited a fortitude and a fidelity, in the midst of every kind of danger, which sets a luminous example to the world. The presence and sympathy of their colleagues from all parts of the earth cannot fail to sustain them. The great Churches of France and Spain, and the younger Churches of England and America, still more the Missionary Churches in the ends of the earth, all both give and receive an impulse of conscious power from their contact with each other and with Rome. It is impossible that this should not react powerfully upon the whole Church throughout the world. All who have

been assembled at the centre of authority will carry back with them a consciousness of power which will spread through the whole Catholic unity; and this consciousness of unity is strength. It is the one thing which the world cannot give, nor imitate. God alone is its Author; and it makes His Church fearless and invincible.

(2.) And this must powerfully vindicate the liberty of the Church in all its spiritual action. Since the year 1862, and especially since the Allocution of September 1865, men have come more clearly to understand that the question of the temporal power is not one of a few provinces and towns, much less of a royal title or of a royal revenue. It is the condition by which Divine Providence has secured the liberty of the person and of the office of the Vicar of Christ, and of his supreme and independent direction of all civil powers in matters which fall within the Divine law. In proportion as the Church is conscious of its unity, it will make itself felt on the public opinion of every country. So long as the Church is kept apart by the jealousies of governments and nations, it remains unconscious of the vast strength which arises from the unity of co-operation. Despots hate popes, and love patriarchs; for popes are sovereigns, and inflexible; patriarchs may become courtiers, and dependents. In this is seen the difference between the highest power which is only of ecclesiastical creation, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The 'Non possumus' of S. Peter is absolute. Frederick the Great of Prussia, with the keen in-

stinct of an infidel, recommended the erection of national churches as the true solvent of Catholic unity; and of patriarchates as a guarantee of subserviency to the royal will, and a barrier to exclude the Pontifical supremacy. Civil governments, so long as their Catholic subjects can be dealt with in detail, are strong, and often oppressive. When they have to deal with the Church throughout the world, the minority becomes a majority, and subjects, in all matters spiritual, become free. We are approaching a time when civil governments must deal with the Church as a whole, and with its head as supreme; and a General Council, which makes itself felt in every civilised nation, will powerfully awaken civil rulers to the consciousness that the Church is not a school of opinion, nor a mere religion, but a spiritual kingdom, having its own legislature, tribunals, and executive.

(3.) A further effect will be to hasten the extinction of the spirit of nationalism which for many centuries has troubled the Church. The Church has already had three periods: first, when it was made up of individuals, or at most of households, before as yet an entire nation was converted to the faith; secondly, when the nations were gathered into the Catholic fold, and the laws of unity and authority kept in check the ambition, jealousy, and encroachments of princes and rulers; thirdly, when the rise of modern nations began to develop the seeds of insubordination and schism; lastly, we have now entered a period in which hardly a Catholic nation exists. The kingdoms of Europe

have either separated altogether, like Prussia and England, from the fold: or, like France and Belgium, having lost their internal unity of faith, they have separated their public laws from the unity of the Church. It is evident that at this moment there is hardly a government on earth which acknowledges the Catholic Church to be its guide. Governments, the public law of States, and international law, have all departed, some more and some less, from the laws of the Church. Nations, as political societies, are no longer Catholic. But the masses of the people in many countries, and a large proportion in others, remain firmly and vividly Catholic. Gallicanism, Josephism, Anglicanism, were devices of government, and diseases of the ruling classes. The people never shared them, never understood them; would have rejected them if they had; and do reject them as soon as they come to see that the choice lies between a State religion and the faith of Christendom, between a royal supremacy and the authority of the Vicar of Christ. To this clearer understanding a General Council will contribute. The supreme spiritual independence of the Church, convened by its head, without dependence on any civil power, freely legislating for the whole Catholic unity, must appeal to every pure instinct of Christians. The withdrawal of Christian nations, or of their public laws, from the unity of the faith, has produced in past times prolonged conflicts between the supreme spiritual and civil powers. In England, to pass over all other countries, the penal laws in matters

of religion, by which not only Catholics but Protestant Nonconformists were persecuted, is a page of our history over which we are happy to be able now to draw a veil. So long as the civil power exacted conformity and obedience in matters spiritual, the conscience of Catholics placed them in an unnatural state of passive opposition to supreme authority. It is the dictate of our conscience, founded upon the words of our Lord and of His Apostles, upon the precepts of the Fathers, and the decrees of Councils,* that we should render true and faithful obedience in all civil matters to our lawful prince. An oath of pure civil obedience Catholics are bound by their religion to make, from their hearts, to the person of their sovereign.† Happily, all the elements of religious and ecclesiastical matter, which used to be mixed up with these civil oaths, have gradually been purged away. The laws of England, with the exception only of a few lingering stains of the old anti-

* Concil. Toletan. iv. c. 75 : ‘*Sacrilegium quippe est si violetur agentibus Regum suorum promissa fides, quia non solum in eos fit pacti transgressio, sed et in Deum, in cujus nomine pollicetur ipsa promissio.*’ So also the tenth Council of Toledo, and the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle. Suarez, *Responsio ad Regis Angliæ Librum*, lib. vi. c. 1.

† ‘*Cum enim uniuscujusque Regis subditi, teste Paulo, ei parere, et fidelitatem servare, et in omnibus quæ ad potestatem Regiam spectant, illi obedire teneantur, ut in libro 3. ostensum est, per se manifestum est, juramentum de hac obedientia, et fidelitate servanda (quod juramentum fidelitatis appellamus) per se, et ex objecto suo honestum esse : ac subinde et posse a Rege ad suam majorem securitatem ac stabilitatem postulari, et tunc a subditis et exhiberi et servari debere.*’—Suarez, *ibid.* lib. vi. *Proœm.*

Catholic animosity, have become purely civil, and therefore equal and just to all: and within that sphere of civil life and civil obedience it is impossible that collision or conflict should arise. The purely spiritual action of the Church in a General Council will tend to dispel the panic fears and traditional suspicions in respect to the authority of popes, and to confirm the relations of freedom and of co-operation which have arisen between the Catholic Church and the civil powers, both in Catholic and Protestant countries.

(4.) Further: a General Council, by purifying the external *status* of the Church from local and national taints which enfeeble its action, must add greatly to its spiritual power. It is the genius of the Church to unite its action to that of the civil power; to uphold, direct, and consecrate it. But if civil governments invade its spiritual office, it knows how to hold itself aloof from all civil power, and to keep itself pure from all contact with it. This is a condition favourable to the Church, but adverse to society. Ireland is a sad and sufficient proof. It has been well said that the spiritual and civil powers are united in one person in Rome, that they may be separated everywhere else. The day seems to be past for the Church to unite itself with the civil state of modern nations. They have shattered their unity of religion, and have broken up their public law, to conform it to their religious divisions. Over such mixed states the Church has little disposition to assume control. They are too alien from

its mind and essence. This separation of Church and State, abnormal, and replete with moral and spiritual dangers, is an established fact in the larger part of the modern world. The Church can at least draw from it this advantage, that if the State will no longer invite it to save the people, its own spiritual action is left free and pure.

(5.) Another change which demands an adjustment of the laws of the Church is to be found in the spoliations which the last centuries have perpetrated. The Church has a divine right to hold property. This right it has originally from its Divine Founder, not from any human law. It is therefore lawful, good, and expedient that it should hold and transmit endowments which are the patrimony of the poor, and the means of spiritual good to the millions of Christendom. The sixteenth century began to spoil, and the revolutions of the last fifty years have swept those endowments away in one half of Europe. The spoiler is again busy to rob the Church in Italy of its birthright. The spoliation of the Church is always, and everywhere, a sin and a sacrilege; nevertheless, the Church knows how to draw power and strength even from spoliation. There is no doubt that it will rise in Italy, as it has risen in France and in Ireland, over all robbery and wrong; and rule the hearts of men with a renewed power. The destruction of benefices has at least released us from patronage, secular interference, lay abuses, with all the moral parasites which infected the old order of nations. A General Council will know

how to deal with *Regales*, Sicilian monarchies, and Organic Articles.

(6.) Lastly. Why should it seem to be the vision of a dreamer to hope that from these things may arise a new order, and a new Christian world? Christendom is not more sick and shattered now than it was when S. Gregory went to his rest. He died mourning over its apparent dissolution; and yet all the glories of the Christendom of a thousand years arose out of the ruins over which he sorrowed. The world is always changing, rising and falling, swaying to and fro like the currents of the great deep. Kingdoms, empires, confederations of Christian States, have formed, dissolved, and passed by together. The Church alone stands steadfast and changeless. It has withstood, and it has made new relations with, a Byzantine, a Frankish, a German Empire, with Christian Europe, in its gradual rise, its many vicissitudes, its perpetual instability. We are but in a new crisis of the old work and conflict. A new European order, with new frontiers, new centres, new powers, new dynasties, may spring up around the See of Peter; and the Pontiffs, calm and changeless in their supremacy, will enter into new relations with a new world, upon old laws which are changeless as the succession of seasons and of tides. We are not shaken nor alarmed by revolutions. We protest against them; we may be crushed by them; but we rise again. The Sovereign Pontiff, in the last proposition of the Syllabus, condemned the pert audacity of those who call upon the Pope to

reconcile himself with modern progress. It is for modern progress to reconcile itself with the Pope. The Christian world was founded upon the unity of faith, the unity of Christian matrimony, the unity of communion, the unity of one supreme authority in the Church of God. The world seems to be putting off its Christian unity, and returning to the divisions and dissensions of the natural order. The Church cannot yield a jot or a tittle of its divine laws of unity and truth. The world may renew its ten persecutions; but the Pontiffs will be inflexible to the end. They have counselled, warned, and entreated Princes and Legislatures. If rulers will not hear their voice, the people will. And this, it would seem, may be the future. The pastors know their flocks, and their flocks know them. Through these, the Vicar of Jesus Christ has spoken from the beginning, to the nations and people of the world; and the nations know his voice. The Governments of the world may be Febronian or Voltairian; the spirit of Pombal and of Kaunitz may survive in bureaus and portfolios; but the instincts of the masses are Christian, and the tendency of political society is everywhere to the people. Of this we have no fear. The Church is nowhere more vigorous than where it is in closest sympathy with the people; as in Ireland and Poland, in America, Australia, and in England.

Such, then, Reverend and dear Brethren, seems to be, in outline at least, the moral import of this eighteenth Centenary of S. Peter's martyrdom. It

has had great results already; it will have greater still. We are at a period of singular moment. The nineteenth century is more than half spent. It opened with a series of revolutions which for fifty years have been shaking, not Europe only, but the world. But there is a turn in the tide of events. The moral and intellectual power of the Catholic Church has been steadily rising in the public opinion of every country. Its action was never more wide-spread nor more kindly: witness its expanding influences in the United States, and in the colonies of the British Empire. At home it is, perhaps, less kindly viewed, less kindly dealt with. The tradition of the Tudor spirit, which survives the Tudor statutes, swept away though they be because now obsolete, and obsolete because too unjust to be put in execution; the historical prejudice, suspicion, fear, and hatred against the Catholic Church, into which we English are born, as into the fall of Adam;—all this still survives to keep up a religious bitterness which has been the disease and humiliation of our country. Nevertheless, a clearer sky is opening. These things are almost relegated now from the sphere of legislation and from public opinion to the haunts of moles and bats, to anti-Catholic factions, to sections of religious parties, or to knots of individuals who have dropped behind the spiritual and intellectual changes of our times.

But I cannot here do more than touch these things in passing. To do more would need a treatise. What has been said is enough to mark the importance

and the power of the events before us. They appeal to our faith, and demand of us to act with courage and with confidence in God and in the great laws by which His Church is governed. A year ago, few believed that at this time the Holy Father would be in Rome. It was when the protection of earthly power was about to leave him that he summoned this great gathering. When Jerusalem was surrounded by the Assyrians, Jeremias bought land in Anathoth. In the face of all danger, and in defiance of all menace, he gave this witness of his immoveable confidence in the promise and power of God. And now, in the presence of a hostile world and all its perturbations, the Pope proclaims a General Council. Let us not be unworthy of this example. The highest conception and enunciation of Catholic truths and principles, without compromise or transaction of any kind, and a calm confidence that God will accomplish His own work in His own time and way, by His own instruments and power, is our duty. What these next years may bring forth, none can say. The Holy Father has declared that the General Council shall be opened on a day marked in his Pontificate and in the history of the Church for ever—the Feast of the Immaculate Conception—but he has not fixed the year. We cannot tell what winds and waves may sweep over Europe and Italy. At any time the whole continent may be on fire from east to west with a terrible war of nations, embittered sevenfold by the working of anti-Christian revolutions. Italy, for its wanton

infidelity to the exuberant mercies of God in nature and in grace, may receive its heaviest scourge. It may be delivered over to its own will, and be deprived for a time of the presence which makes it the first of Christian nations. On all these contingencies the mind of the Pontiff meditates. Calmly and surely he will bide his time, in supernatural confidence that no power of man can bind him when the hour of liberation comes. Peter was bound with chains in Jerusalem, and again in Rome, and men have striven for eighteen hundred years to bind his successors. Persecutors in Rome, emperors in Constantinople, heretics in high places, Lombard kings, Counts of the Marches, Norman dukes, Roman factions, French monarchs, Infidel republics, Imperial conquerors, Gallican assemblies, secret societies, diplomacy without faith,—all in succession have thought to bind the hands of Peter, and in him to bind the Church of God. It is an old tale. When men least look for it; when all seems surest for their policy, on a sudden, without warning, and as by the touch of unseen might, the fetters fall off from the sacred hands. And in Peter the Church goes forth free and sovereign.

*Miris modis repente liber, ferrea,
Christo jubente, vincla Petrus exuit.
Ovilis ille Pastor, et Rector gregis,
Vitæ recludit pascua et fontes sacros,
Ovesque servat creditas, arcet lupos.*

Peter reigns still, Chief Shepherd of the one fold, opening the pastures of life and the sacred fountains,

guarding the sheep, keeping off the wolves. The General Council will meet when he sees the time, and it will do its work. ‘*Verbum Dei non est alligatum.*’ ‘*Ubi Spiritus Domini ibi libertas.*’

Already the preparations for this event are making under the eye of the Holy Father. You will pray daily that the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost may rest abundantly upon him, and upon all who are around him. When the Indiction of the Council reaches me, I will call upon you to unite in a special invocation of the Holy Ghost, the Author of unity and the Spirit of Truth and Charity, and to offer the Most Holy Sacrifice for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

I remain, Rev. and dear Brethren,

Your affectionate Servant in Christ,

✠ HENRY EDWARD,

ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

Sept. 8, 1867.

APPENDIX
OF
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTENARY.



1. ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS, JUNE 26.
2. HOMILY OF HIS HOLINESS, JUNE 29.
3. ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE BISHOPS JULY 1.
4. REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS.

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I.

LONDON: Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

I.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX. ALLOCUTIO HABITA IN CONSISTORIO PUBLICO DIE XXVI. JUNII MDCCCLXVII.

VENERABILES FRATRES,

Singulari quidem inter maximas Nostras acerbitates gaudio et consolatione afficimur, cum iterum gratissimo conspectu ac frequentia vestra perfrui, vosque coram alloqui in hoc amplissimo conventu possimus, Venerabiles Fratres. Vos enim ex omnibus terrarum regionibus desiderii Nostri significatione et vestrae pietatis instinctu in hanc Urbem adducti, Vos eximia religione praestantes, in sollicitudinis Nostrae partem vocati nihil potius habetis, quam calamitosis hisce temporibus omnem in re Catholica tuenda animarumque salute curanda vestram opem Nobis ferre, multiplices mœrores Nostros lenire, ac ampliora in dies vestrae fidei voluntatis et obsequii, erga hanc Petri Cathedram experimenta praebere. Hoc vestro adspectu recreamur vehementer, hoc novo pietatis et amoris vestri argumento ac testimonio de illis libenter recordamur, quæ usque ad hanc diem concordibus animis, non uno studiorum genere, non intermissis curis, non deterriti adversis certatim edidistis. Quæ porro rerum suavissimarum memoria alte Nobis in animo infixæ, semperque mansura, illud efficit, ut gratus Nostræ caritatis sensus, multo nunc quam alias ardentior atque vividior, erga universum vestrum ordinem perspicua testificatione et luculentioribus signis, palam publiceque gestiat erumpere.

Sed si hæc leviter raptimque perstricta superiorum temporum recordatio Nos adeo percellit atque solatur, Vos ipsos, Venerabiles Fratres, facile intellecturos arbitramur qua lætitia exultet, qua caritate flagret hodie cor Nostrum, dum iterum observantia et frequentia vestra perfruimur, qui ex remotioribus etiam Catholicis provinciis Nostro desiderio perspecto, una omnes pietate et amore

acti ad Nos convenistis. Nihil enim Nobis optatius, nihil jucundius esse potest quam vestro in cœtu versari, vestræque Nobiscum conjunctionis fructum capere, in iis potissimum solemnibus peragendis in quibus omnia, quæ versantur ante oculos, de Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitate, de immobili unitatis fundamento, de præclaro ejus tuendæ servandæque studio, ac gloria loquuntur. De illa scilicet admirabili unitate loquuntur, qua, veluti quadam vena, Divini Spiritus charismata et dona in mysticum Christi corpus manant, ac in singulis ejus membris tanta illa fidei et caritatis exempla excitant, quæ universum hominum genus in admirationem impellunt. Agitur enim, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc tempore ut Sanctorum honores decernantur tot inclitis Ecclesiæ Heroibus, quorum plerique gloriosum martyrii certamen certantes, alii pro tuendo Apostolicæ Cathedræ, in qua veritatis et unitatis est centrum, Principatu, alii pro integritate ac unitate fidei vindicanda, alii pro restituendis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ hominibus schismate avulsis, pretiosam mortem libenter oppetierunt, adeo ut mirum divinæ Providentiæ consilium satis eluceat, quæ tum maxime exempla adserendæ Catholicæ unitatis, et triumphos Adsertorum proposuit, cum Catholica fides et Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritas infestioribus inimicorum artibus conflictaretur. Agitur præterea ut memoriam diei auspicatissimi solemniter ritu recolamus, quo die Beatissimus Petrus et Coapostolus ejus Paulus ante annos mille octingentos illustri martyrio in hac urbe perfuncti, immobilem Catholicæ unitatis arcem suo sanguine consecrarunt. Quid igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Nobis optabilius et tantorum Martyrum triumphis congruentius esse poterat, quam ut in eorum honoribus pulcherrima Catholicæ unitatis exempla ac spectacula, majore qua possent significatione et luce fulgerent? Quid æquius erat, quam ut hæc ipsa de Apostolorum Principum triumphis gratulatio quæ ad totius Catholici nominis religionem pertinet, vestro etiam adventu studioque celebraretur? Quid dignius demum, quam ut tot tantorumque rerum splendor pietatis lætitiæque vestræ accessione fieret illustrior?

At non solum apta rebus et grata Nobis, Venerabiles Fratres, hæc pietas, et concursus cum Apostolica Sede conjunctio, sed præterea tanti momenti est, ut maximi ex ea ac salutare admodum fructus sive ad comprimendam impiorum audaciam, sive ad communem fidelium et vestram singulorum utilitatem, omnino debeant existere. Ex hac nimirum Religionis oppugnatores intelligant

necesse est, quam vigeat, qua vita polleat Catholica Ecclesia, quam infensis animis insectari non desinunt; discent quam inepto stultoque convicio eam veluti exhaustam viribus et suis defunctam temporibus incusarint; discent demum quam male suis triumphis plaudant, ac suis consiliis et conatibus fidant, satis perspicientes tantam virium compagem convelli non posse, quam Jesu Christi spiritus et divina virtus in Apostolicæ confessionis petra coagmentavit. Profecto si unquam alias hoc maxime tempore, Venerabiles Fratres, omnibus pateat necesse est, ibi solum animos arctissima inter se conjunctione contineri posse, ubi unus idemque Dei spiritus omnibus dominatur; at Deo relicto, Ecclesiæ auctoritate contempta, homines felicitatis ejus quam per scelera quærunt expertes, in turbulentissimis tempestatibus misere, dissidiisque jactari.

Sed si fidelium communis spectetur utilitas, quidnam, Venerabiles Fratres, opportunius ac salutaris ad incrementum obsequii erga Nos et Apostolicam Cathedram Catholicis gentibus esse potest, quam si videant quanti a Pastoribus suis Catholicæ unitatis jura et sanctitas fiat, eamque ob causam cernant eos magna terrarum spatia marisque transmittere, nec ullis deterreretur incommodis, quominus ad Romanam Cathedram advolent, ut in Nostræ humilitatis persona Petri Successorem et Christi in terris Vicarium revereantur? Hac nempe auctoritate exempli longe melius quam subtiliori qualibet doctrina agnoscant, qua veneratione, obedientia et obsequio erga Nos uti debeant; Quibus in persona Petri a Christo Domino dictum est ‘Pascere agnos meos, pascere oves meas,’ iisque verbis suprema sollicitudo ac potestas in universam Ecclesiam credita est atque commissa.

Quin etiam Vos ipsi, Venerabiles Fratres, Vos in sacro vestro ministerio obeundo, ex hac erga Apostolicam Sedem observantia insignem fructum laturos estis. Quo enim majora vos necessitudinis fidei amorisque vincula cum angulari petra mystici ædificii devinxerint, eo magis etiam, uti omnium Ecclesiæ temporum memoria docet, eam fortitudinem induemini ac robur, quod ab amplitudine ministerii vestri contra hostiles impetus, et adversitates rerum postulatur. Quid enim aliud Christus Dominus intelligi voluit cum Petrum tuendæ fratrum firmitati præficiens, ‘Ego, inquit, rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos’? * Nimirum, ut

* Luc. xxii, 32.

S. Leo M. innuit, 'specialis cura Petri a Domino suscipitur et pro fide Petri proprie supplicatur, tamquam aliorum status certior sit futurus, si mens Principis victa non fuerit. In Petro ergo omnium fortitudo munitur, et divinæ gratiæ ita ordinatur auxilium, ut firmitas quæ per Christum Petro tribuitur, per Petrum apostolis cæteris conferatur.'* Quapropter Nos semper persuasum habuimus fieri non posse ut ejus fortitudinis qua præcipuo Domini munere cumulatus est Petrus, non aliqua semper in vobis fieret accessio, quoties prope ipsam Petri personam qui suis in successoribus vivit præsentis consisteretis, ac tantummodo solum attingeretis hujus Urbis, quam sacri Apostolorum Principis sudores et triumphalis sanguis irrigavit. Immo etiam, Venerabiles Fratres, nunquam Nos dubitavimus quin ex ipso sepulcro ubi beatissimi Petri cineres ad religionem Orbis sempiternam quiescunt, quædam arcana vis et salutaris virtus existat, quæ Pastoribus Dominici gregis fortes ausus, ingentes spiritus, magnanimos sensus inspiret, quæque instaurato eorum robore efficit, ut impudens hostium audacia, Catholicæ unitatis virtuti et potestati impar, impari etiam certamine residat et corruat.

Nam quid Nos tandem dissimulemus, Venerabiles Fratres? Jamdiu in acie contra callidos et infestos hostes pro justitiæ et Religionis defensione versamur. Tam diuturna tam ingens dimicatio geritur, ut omnium quotquot in sacra militia censentur simul conjunctæ vires, non justo majores numero ad resistendum esse videantur. Nos quidem Ecclesiæ causam libertatem et jura pro supremi muneris Nostri ratione propugnantes, usque ad hanc diem Dei Omnipotentis ope ab exitialibus periculis incolumes fuimus; sed tamen rapimur et jactamur adhuc adversis ventis et fluctibus, non quidem timentes naufragium quod Christi Domini præsens auxilium timere non sinit, sed intimo sane dolore affecti ob tot novarum doctrinarum monstra, tot impie in Ecclesiam ipsam et Apostolicam Sedem commissa, quæ quidem jam alias damnata ac reprobata,† palam nunc iterum pro sacri Nostri muneris officio reprobamus et condemnamus. In hac tamen præsentis temporis ratione, et in ea quam capimus ex conspectu vestro lætitia, ultro commemorare prætermittimus tot sollicitudines, curas, angores qui cor Nostrum gravi ac diuturno vulnere excruciant ac torquent. Hæc potius omnia apud altaria afferemus quæ Nostris assidue oneravimus precibus, respersimus lacrimis; hæc

* Ser. iii. in anniv. Ass. suæ.

† Alloc. Consist. 29 Oct. 1866.

omnia Clementissimo misericordiarum Patri instauratis obsecrationibus aperiemus iterum ac revelabimus, in Eo omnino fidentes qui Ecclesiæ suæ incolumitatem et gloriam tueri novit et potest, quique iudicium faciens omnibus injuriam patientibus de causa Nostra et adversantium Nobis, non fallente die, justo iudicio judicabit.

Interim vero vos, Venerabiles Fratres, pro spectata vestra sapientia recte intelligitis quam vehementer intersit ad occurrendum impiorum consiliis et tot detrimenta Ecclesiæ sarcienda, ut quæ vestrum omnium cum Nobis et Apostolica hac Sede concordia tantopere enitet, altius in dies defixis radicibus roboretur. Quin immo, hic Catholicæ conjunctionis amor, qui ubi semel inhæsit animis, ad aliorum etiam utilitatem late dimanat, hic profecto vos conquiescere non sinet, nisi pariter in eadem Catholica concordia ac indivulsa fidei, spei caritatisque consensione ecclesiasticos omnes viros quorum Duces estis, et universos fideles vobis concreditos una opera præstare connitamini. Nullum sane spectaculum angelorum atque hominum oculis pulchrius esse poterit, quam si in hac peregrinatione nostra, qua ab exilio ad patriam pergimus, æmula imago referatur et ordo peregrinationis illius, qua duodecim Israeliticæ tribus ad felices promissionis oras conjunctis itineribus contendebant. Ingrediebantur enim omnes, singulæ suis discretæ auctoribus, distinctæ nominibus, diremptæ locis, parebantque suis quæque familia patribus, bellatorum manus ducibus, hominum multitudo principibus; sed tamen unus erat tot ex gentibus populus, qui Eidem Deo et ad eandem supplicabat aram, unus qui iisdem legibus, eidem Sacerdoti Maximo Aaroni, eidem Dei Legato obtemperabat Mosi, unus qui pari jure in bellorum laboribus et victoriarum fructibus utebatur, unus demum qui pariter sub tentoriis agens, et admirabili vascens cibo, eandem concordibus votis adspirabat ad metam.

Hujusmodi vos conjunctioni perpetuo retinendæ operam daturus, tot jam pignoribus vestræ fidei concordiaque acceptis, certum omnino ac exploratum habemus. Spondet id Nobis spectata vestra integritas, ac præstans virtus, quæ semper ubique sui similis, et omni periculo major effulsit: spondet illud ingens studium et ardor qui vos ad æternam hominum salutem curandam, et ad divinam amplificandam gloriam rapit atque urget: spondet id demum ac certissime spondet sublimis illa oratio, quam Christus ipse ante extremos cruciatus suos ad Patrem obtulit,

Illum precatus, 'ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me et ego in Te, ut et ipsi in Nobis unum sint';* cui precationi fieri nunquam potest, ut Divinus non adnuat Pater.

Nobis autem, Venerabiles Fratres, nihil optabilius est quam ut eum fructum quem maxime salutarem ac faustum Ecclesiæ universæ fore ducimus, ex hac eadem vestra cum Apostolica Sede conjunctione capiamus. Jamdiu enim animo agitavimus, quod pluribus etiam Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum pro rerum adjunctis innotuit, ac illud etiam, ubi primum optata Nobis opportunitas aderit, efficere aliquando posse confidimus, nempe ut sacrum œcumenicum et generale omnium Episcoporum Catholici Orbis habeamus Concilium, quo collatis consiliis conjunctisque studiis necessaria ac salutaria remedia, tot præsertim malis quibus Ecclesia premitur, Deo adjuvante adhibeantur. Ex hoc profecto uti maximam spem habemus eveniet, ut Catholicæ veritatis lux errorum tenebris, quibus mortalium mentes obvolvuntur amotis, salutare suum lumen diffundat, quo illi veram salutis et justitiæ semitam, adspirante Dei gratia, agnoscant et instent. Ex hoc item eveniet, ut Ecclesia veluti invicta castrorum acies ordinata hostiles inimicorum conatus retundat, impetus frangat, ac de ipsis triumphans Jesu Christi Regnum in terris longe lateque propaget ac proferat.

Nunc vero ut vota Nostra impleantur, utque Nostræ vestræque curæ uberes justitiæ fructus Christianis afferant populis, ad Deum omnis justitiæ et bonitatis fontem erigamus oculos, in quo omnis plenitudo præsidii, et gratiæ ubertas sperantibus collocata est. Cum autem advocatum apud Patrem habeamus Jesum Christum Filium Ejus, Pontificem magnum qui penetravit Coelos, qui semper vivens interpellat pro nobis, quique in admirabili Eucharistiæ Sacramento nobiscum est omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi, hunc Redemptorem amantissimum, Venerabiles Fratres, ponamus ut signaculum super cor nostrum, ut signaculum super brachium nostrum, atque ad altare illud, ubi ipse Auctor gratiæ thronum misericordiæ constituit, ubi omnes qui laborant et onerati sunt, reficiendi cupidus expectat, nostras assidue preces omni cum fiducia deferamus. Eum itaque sine intermissione humiliterque obsecremus, ut Ecclesiam suam a tantis calamitatibus et omni discrimine eruat, eique lætam pacis vicem, victoriamque de hostibus donet, ut Nobis ac Vobis novas

* S. Joan. xvii. 21

usque vires ad sui Nominis gloriam provehendam addat, ut illo igne quem venit mittere in terras hominum animos inflammet, ac errantes omnes potenti sua virtute ad salutaria consilia convertat. Vestrae autem pietatis erit, Venerabiles Fratres, illud omni ope curare ut crediti vobis fideles in cognitione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in dies crescant, Eumque in Sacramento Augusto praesentem, constanti fide venerentur, redament ac frequenter invisant, nihilque erit vestro studio curaue dignius, quam ut, vigilantibus ad Ejus aram ignibus, vigilet etiam in cordibus fidelium gratus pietatis sensus, vigilet indeficiens flamma caritatis.

Quo vero facilius Deus ad obsecrationes nostras aurem suam propitius inclinet, semper et enixe petamus suffragia, primum quidem Deiparae Virginis Mariae Immaculae, quo nullum apud Deum potentius patrocinium; deinde Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum Natalitia acturi sumus, nec non omnium Coelitem Sanctorum qui cum Christo regnantes in Coelis munera divinae largitatis hominibus sua deprecatione conciliant.

Denique Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, ac aliis omnibus Venerabilibus Fratribus Catholicarum gentium Episcopis, item fidelibus omnibus Vestrae atque illorum curae concredit, quorum pietatis et amoris eximia semper testimonia accepimus et continenter in dies experimur, singulis universis Apostolicam Nostram Benedictionem cum omni felicitatis voto conjunctam, ex intimo corde amantissime impertimus.

II.

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri PII, Divina Providentia
 PAPÆ IX., Homilia, habita in Basilica Vaticana
 inter Missarum Solemnia, die XXIX. Junii
 MDCCCLXVII., in sæculari festo Sanctorum Apo-
 stolorum Petri et Pauli, atque canonizatione unius
 et viginti Martyrum, et Confessorum Pauli a Cruce,
 Leonardi a Portu Mauritio, ac Virginum Mariæ
 Franciscæ a vulneribus D. N. J. C. et Germanæ
 Cousin. Romæ, MDCCCLXVII.*

Optatissimus, Venerabiles Fratres, ac Dilecti Filii, illuxit dies, quo Nobis singulari Dei beneficio datum est sæcularia solemnia Beatissimi Petri Apostolorum Principis, et Coapostoli ejus Pauli triumphis sacra concelebrare, ac pluribus divinæ nostræ religionis heroibus Sanctorum cultum et honores decernere. Itaque exultemus in Domino, et spirituali jucunditate lætemur, cum gloriosus recurrat dies summa universi Catholici orbis, et hujus præsertim nostræ urbis veneratione et gaudio colendus. Hoc enim solemnī die Petrus et Paulus Ecclesiæ luminaria, Martyres summi, legis Doctores, amici Sponsi, oculi Sponsæ, Pastores gregis, mundi custodes ad cælestia regna felici martyrio conscenderunt.* Isti sunt viri, per quos tibi Evangelium Christi, Roma, resplenduit, et quæ eras magistra erroris, facta es discipula veritatis; Isti sunt, qui te regnis cœlestibus inserendam multo melius, multoque felicius condiderunt, quam illi, quorum studio prima mœnium tuorum fundamenta locata sunt. Isti sunt, qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis, et regia per sacram Beati Petri Sedem caput orbis effecta latius

* S. Petrus Dam. Serm. 27 de SS. Apost. Petr. et Paul.

præsideres religione divina, quam dominatione terrena.* Hi sunt conjuncti Viri habentes splendidas vestes, Viri misericordiæ, ac nostri veri patres, verique pastores, qui nos per Evangelium genuerunt. Quis autem Petro gloriosior? qui divino illustratus lumine primus omnium agnovit, omnibusque patefecit altissimum Majestatis æternæ arcanum, et confitendo Christum Dominum vivi Dei esse Filium, validissima invictaque nobis credendi fundamenta constituit.† Ipse firmissima est petra, supra quam æterni Patris Filius Ecclesiam suam tanta soliditate fundavit, ut adversus eam portæ inferi prævalere nunquam possint. Ipsi a Christo Domino traditæ sunt claves regni cælorum, et suprema commissa potestas, et cura pascendi agnos et oves, confirmandi Fratres, ac universam regendi Ecclesiam, et cujus fides nunquam defectura, neque in suis successoribus, qui in hac Romana Cathedra sunt collocati. Quis beatior Paulo? qui a Domino electus, ut portaret nomen suum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel,‡ pro suarum remuneratione virtutum tertium raptus ad cælum cœlestia secreta cognovit, ut Ecclesiarum futurus Doctor inter Angelos disceret, quod inter homines prædicaret.§ Hi beatissimi Petrus et Paulus sacramentum novæ legis uno spiritu prædicantes omnia pericula, difficultates, labores, pœnas, cruciatusque constanter pro Domino perpassi, Christi nomen et religionem in Gentes invexerunt, et Paganam philosophiam vicerunt, Idololatriam e solio deturbarunt, ac sanctissimis suis gestis, scriptisque evangelicæ veritatis lucem longe lateque diffuderunt, cum in omnem terram exiverit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum, ac sub unius passione diei doctrinam suam pio sanguine et morte fortissima consecrarint. Itaque, Venerabiles Fratres, ac Dilecti Filii, eorundem Apostolorum gloriam solemni ritu, et maxima lætitia concelebrantes, et sacros eorum cineres, ad quos feliciter stamus, omni veneratione prosequentes, clarissima illorum gesta sermonibus prædicemus, atque in primis eorum virtutes omni studio imitemur.

Jam vero summo quoque gaudio perfundimur, quandoquidem Deus Nobis tribuit hoc felicissimo die Sanctorum cultum, et honores decernere invictis Christi Martyribus Josaphat Kuncevicio Polocensi Ruthenorum Antistiti, Petro Arbuesio, Nicolao

* S. Leo Serm. 82, al. 80, in Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

† S. Maximus Homil. 68 in Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

‡ Act. Apost. ix. 15.

§ S. Maximus ibidem.

Pichio, ejusque duodeviginti sociis, et binis gloriosissimis Confessoribus Paulo a Cruce, Leonardo a Portu Mauritio, ac duabus clarissimis Virginitus Mariæ Franciscæ a vulneribus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, et Germanæ Cousin. Qui omnes etiam si eadem nostra circumdati infirmitate, et peregrini hic in terris, multisque tribulationibus, ac periculis subjecti, tamen inconcussa in Deum fide ac firmissima spe, et summa caritate incensi, ac pari in proximum dilectione insignes, mortificationem Christi in corpore circumferentes, et conformes facti imaginis Filii Dei, asperrima quæque pro Christi amore perpassi de carne, mundo, ac sævissimo Dæmone splendide triumpharunt, ac sanctitatis splendore, mirisque prodigiis Catholicam illustrarunt Ecclesiam, et clarissima nobis imitanda virtutum omnium reliquerunt exempla. Nunc vero facti amici Dei in cœlesti Jerusalem induti stolis albis exsultant in gloria, et inebriantur ab ubertate domus Dei, propterea quod Dominus lætificat eos in gaudio cum vultu suo, et torrente voluptatis potat eos, ac fulgentes sicut sol coronati possident palmam, et regnant cum Christo in æternum, Eumque pro nobis exorant, cum de propria immortalitate securi, sint adhuc de nostra salute solliciti.

Humiles igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, ac Dilecti Filii, Deo totius consolationis agamus gratias, quod inter tantas, quibus affligimur, Ecclesiæ, civilisque societatis calamitates, et pericula, per hos clarissimos Martyres, Confessores, et Virgines nova ac valida Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ præsidia, et illustria fidelibus populis virtutum documenta dare sit dignatus. Summo autem studio insignia horum Sanctorum vestigia sectemur, et iccirco ejusdem fidei, spei, caritatisque in Deum spiritu magis in dies inflammati terrestria despiciamus, et cœlestia unice spectemus, atque alacriori usque pede per semitas Domini ambulemus, et abnegantes sæcularia desideria sobrie, juste, ac pie vivamus, et omnes unanimes, compatientes, fraternitatis amatores, misericordes, modesti, humiles * per bona opera certam nostram vocationem, et electionem facere studeamus.

Sed jam liceat Nobis cum omni humilitate, et fiducia, levare oculos Nostros ad Te, Domine Deus Noster, qui dives in misericordia omnipotentiam Tuam parcendo maxime, et miserando manifestas. Intuere propitius et respice Ecclesiam Tuam sanctam tot undique jactatam procellis, et humanam societatem tot agitatum

* S. Petr. Epist. 1. c. 3, v. 8.

turbinibus, ac per merita Apostolorum Tuorum Petri et Pauli, et istorum Martyrum, Confessorum et Virginum averte iram Tuam a nobis, et multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, et fac omnipotenti Tua virtute, ut Ecclesia de suis hostibus triumphans ubique terrarum magis in dies prospere, feliciterque propagetur, et omnes populi, cunctis depulsis erroribus, cunctisque vitiis profligatis, occurrant in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Tui Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ac divina Tua dextera urbem hanc ab omnibus inimicorum insidiis, conatibusque tuerc, ac defende.

III.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Apostolica Tua vox iterum auribus nostris insonuit, nuncians novum æternæ veritatis triumphum, sanctorum cœlitum gloria refulgentem, antiquum Urbis æternæ, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli sanguine consecratæ decus, quorum martyrii memoria sæcularis rediens, totum hodie Orbem Christianum lætitia afficit et fidelium mentes ad salutarem maximarum rerum cogitationem extollit.

Jucundissima apostolici oris ad festa talia nos peramanter invitantis verba percipere minime potuimus, quin continuo subiret animum solemnum illorum memoria, quæ antè annos quinque Tuo lateri adstantes in urbe peregrimus, et grati recordaremur, qua tunc nos benignitate et humanitate habueris, qua nos paterna caritate fueris in illa faustissima gratulatione complexus. Hæc suavis recordatio, hæc amantissimi Patris non tam jubentis quam optantis vox illam animis nostris ad Romanum iter capessendum alacritatem adjecit, quam Tibi, Beatissime Pater, satis luculenter amplissima hæc Antistitum frequentia, qui tertium ad Te confluerunt, et communis omnium pietas ac fidelis observantia declarant. Tam ingenti Antistitum numero, cui vix simile quid in præteritarum ætatum memoria reperitur, par solummodo est Tua in nos charitas ac benevolentia, par unice obsequii amorisque in Te nostri magnitudo. Hisce autem causis vehementius hodie excitamur, ut eximias virtutes Tuas, Sedem Apostolicam novo illustrantes lumine, novo etiam prosequamur honore, et augustissimum Tuum animum graves inter, quibus premeris at non concuteris, ærumnas, iterato amoris et admirationis testimonio coram solemur.

Sed dum votis obsecuti sumus Tuis, alium etiam optatissimum nobis spectavimus fructum, ut scilicet cor nostrum tot Ecclesiæ malis sauciaturum paterni Tui vultus recrearemus adspectu, fraternam inter nos concordiam magis magisque roboraremus, ac communem Tibi nobisque solatii et gaudii materiem quæreremus.

Hanc vero lætandi causam Tu maximam nobis præstas, dum tot nova sanctorum nomina fastis Ecclesiæ inscribens homines potenter edoces, quanta sit quamque inexhausta matris Ecclesiæ fœcunditas. Hanc triumphantium gloriosus martyrum sanguis exornat; hanc inviolatæ confessionis candida induit virginitas, hujus floribus nec rosæ nec lilia desunt. Tu, cœlestia virtutum præmia mortalibus ostendens, oculos a rerum inanium conspectu ad jucundam cœli gloriam erigere doces. Tu, dum homines mirandis ingenii sui industriæque operibus exsultant, triumphale sanctorum Dei vexillum attollens illos admones, ut, super ipsam rerum adspectabilium et gaudiorum humanorum pompam ac speciem, oculos ad Deum omnis sapientiæ et pulchritudinis fontem convertant, ne ii, quibus dictum fuit ‘*Subjicite terram et dominan-
nimi*’ obliviscantur unquam supremi illius præcepti, ‘*Dominum
Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies.*’

Ast qui suspicientes cœlestem Jerusalem, novorum sanctorum gloria gestientem, mirabilia Domini humili corde agnoscimus et profitemur, magis etiam ad hæc celebranda incendimur, dum hodierna sæculari solemnitate immotam contemplamur petræ illius firmitatem, super quam Dominus ac Redemptor noster Ecclesiæ suæ molem perpetuitatemque constituit. Divina enim virtute factum cernimus, ut Petri Cathedra, organum veritatis, unitatis centrum, fundamentum et propugnaculum libertatis Ecclesiæ, tot inter rerum adversitates et non intermissa hostium molimina octodecim jam elapsis plane sæculis, stet firma incolumisque; dum regna et imperia surgunt ruuntque vicissim, stet veluti securus pharus in procelloso vitæ æquore mortalium iter dirigens, tutamque stationem et portum salutis sua luce commonstrans.

Hac fide, hisce sensibus ducti loquebamur olim, Beatissime Pater! cum ante quinquennium Tuo throno adstantes sublimi Tuo ministerio debitum testimonium dedimus, votaquæ pro Te, pro civili Tuo principatu, pro justitiæ ac religionis causa palam nuncupavimus. Hac fide ducti verbis scriptoque eo tempore professi sumus, nihil nobis potius et antiquius esse, quam ut quæ Tu Ipse credis ac doces, nos quoque credamus et doceamus, quos rejicis errores, nos item rejiciamus. Te duce unanimes incedamus in viis Domini, Te sequamur, Tibi adlaboremus ac Tecum pro Domino in omne discrimen fortunamque parati decertemus. Cuncta hæc, quæ tunc declaravimus, nunc denuo piissimo cordis sensu confirmamus, idque universo orbi testatum esse volumus;

grato simul recolentes animo, plenoque laudantes assensu, quæ a Te in salutem fidelium et Ecclesiæ gloriam ab eo quoque tempore gesta fuerunt.

Quod enim Petrus olim dixerat, '*non possumus quæ vidimus et audivimus non loqui*,' Tu pariter sanctum et solemne habuisti, ac nunquam non habere luculenter demonstras. Non enim unquam obticuit os Tuum. Tu æternas veritates annunciare, Tu sæculi errores, naturalem supernaturalemque rerum ordinem atque ipsa ecclesiasticæ civilisque potestatis fundamenta subvertere minitantes, apostolici eloquii gladio configere, Tu caliginem novarum doctrinarum pravitate mentibus offusam dispellere, Tu quæ necessaria ac salutaria sunt tum singulis hominibus, tum Christianæ familiæ, tum civili societati, intrepide effari, suadere, commendare supremi Tui ministerii es arbitratus; ut tandem cuncti assequantur quid hominem Catholicum tenere, servare ac profiteri oporteat. Pro qua eximia cura maximas Sanctitati Tuæ gratias agimus, habituri sumus sempiternas; Petrumque per os Pii locutum fuisse credentes, quæ ad custodiendum depositum a Te dicta, confirmata, prolata sunt, nos quoque dicimus, confirmamus, annuntiamus, unoque ore atque animo rejicimus omnia, quæ divinæ fidei, saluti animarum, ipsi societatis humanæ bono adversa, Tu ipse reprobanda ac rejicienda judicasti. Firmum enim menti nostræ est, alteque defixum, quod Patres Florentini in decreto unionis unanimes definiverunt: Romanum Pontificem '*Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput et omnium Christianorum Patrem et Doctorem existere, et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi Universalem Ecclesiam a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse*.'

Sed alia præterea sunt, quæ nostram in Te caritatem, gratosque animi sensus provocant. Magna enim cum jucunditate admiramur heroicam illam virtutem, qua perniciosis sæculi machinationibus obsistendo, dominicum gregem in via salutis servare, contra seductiones erroris munire, contra vim potentium et falsorum sapientum astutiam tueri adnitus es. Admiramur studium illud fatigari nescium, quo emolumenta universæ Ecclesiæ, apostolica providentia Orientis et Occidentis populos complexus, promovere nunquam destitisti. Admiramur magnificum illud, quod generi hominum in pejus quotidie ruenti Pastori boni spectaculum exhibes, ipsorum etiam veritatis inimicorum animos percellens, oculosque ad se vel invitos ipsa rerum præstantia et dignitate convertens.

Perge igitur Pastorum Pastoris vicaria potestate fungens, divini Tui muneris partes Deo confisus tueri; perge vitæ æternæ subsidii pascere Tibi creditas oves; perge sanare contritiones Israel, et agnos Christi quærere qui perierant. Faxit Deus Omnipotens, ut, qui amoris Tui et officii sui immemores voci Tuæ adhuc resistunt, meliora secuti consilia ad Te tandem redeunt, luctum Tuum in gaudium convertant. Tuarum pastoralium curarum fructus, divina benignitate adspirante, incrementum capiant in dies; felix animarum conversio, quam Deus Te administro quotidie operatur, magis magisque amplificetur; Tuque virtutum Tuarum vi et glorioso laborum successu animabus Christo lucrifacis, prolatisque regni ejus finibus, cum Domino et Magistro vere exclamare possis, '*Omne, quod dat mihi Pater, ad me veniet.*'

Hæc immo, Beatissime Pater, salutaris ac felicioris ævi indicia conspiciuntur. Testis amor ille, quem cunctarum nationum fideles ad quævis pro Te exantlanda parati commonstrant, dum vires corporis et animi atque adeo vitam ipsam pro Ecclesiæ juribus et Apostolicæ Sedis gloria adserenda impendere ac dicare gestiunt. Testis prona illa Catholicarum mentium reverentia, quæ te supremum Pastorem cupide intuetur, quæ Apostolicæ Cathedræ oracula lætanter excipit, iisque firmissimo adsensu et obsequio adhærere gloriatur. Testis illa filialis animi indoles, qua populus Christianus vestigia fidelium sequens, qui olim ad pedes Apostolorum facultates suas sponte deferebant, rerum Tuarum angustiis hucusque occurrit, et continenter eas sublevare non desinit. Hæc filialis argumenta pietatis intimo pectore commoti cernimus, nunquam non operam daturi, ut sacer hic ignis in cordibus fidelium accensus foveatur et vigeat, utque tum nostro tum cleri totius exemplo animati omnes præclaram illam voluntatem ac liberalitatem provehant, Tibique ad æternam eorum salutem plenius procurandam temporalia adjumenta suppeditent.

Qui autem fidelium omnium erga Te pietate tantopere afficimur, Beatissime Pater, peculiaris gaudii fructum capimus ex illa fide, ex illo amore et obsequio, quo digni æternæ Urbis cives Te Patrem, Te Principem indulgentissimum complectuntur. Felicem populum ac vera sapientem! qui novit quæ sibi amplitudo et gloria ex Petri Sede in Urbe constituta proveniat, qui intelligit non alios terminos divinæ erga se benignitati definitos fore, quam quos ipse sibi in sua erga Christi Vicarium observantia et in Principem Sacratissimum amore constituerit. Hæc concupisce,

hæc sequere, Romana gens; sit hæc constans, sit immota pietas; sit hæc Romana Urbs, quam Christianus Orbis cæterarum principem suamque lubens agnoscit, cæteris exemplo præluces, sit cœlestibus gratiis donisque florens, virtutibus opibusque beata.

Id, Beatissime Pater, Tui Pontificatus splendor effecit, quo non Urbs solum Tua, sed universus orbis illustratur, cujusque admiratio ita nos movet, ut ex illo exemplum pro sacro nostro ministerio petendum esse existimemus.

At non minus Tua vox suaviter illabens pectoris ima pervadit, quam virtutum Tuarum pontificalium imago animos nostros percellit.

Summo igitur gaudio repletus est animus noster, dum e sacrato ore Tuo intelleximus, tot inter præsentis temporis discrimina eo Te esse consilio, ut *maximum*, prout aiebat inclitus Tuus prædecessor Paulus III, *in maximis rei Christianæ periculis remedium*, Concilium œcumenicum convocet.

Annuat Deus huic Tuo proposito, cujus ipse Tibi mentem inspiravit; habeantque tandem ævi nostri homines, qui infirmi in fide, semper discentes et nunquam ad veritatis agnitionem pervenientes omni vento doctrinæ circumferuntur, in sacrosancta hac Synodo novam, præsentissimamque occasionem accedendi ad sanctam Ecclesiam, columnam ac firmamentum veritatis, cognoscendi salutiferam fidem, perniciosos rejiciendi errores; ac fiat, Deo propitio, et conciliatrice Deipara Immaculata, hæc Synodus grande opus unitatis, sanctificationis et pacis, unde novus in Ecclesiam splendor redundet, novus regni Dei triumphus consequatur.

Et hoc ipso Tuæ providentiæ opere denuo exhibeantur mundo immensa beneficia, per Pontificatum Romanum humanæ societati asserta. Pateat cunctis, Ecclesiam, eo quod super solidissima Petra fundetur, tantum valere, ut errores depellat, mores corrigat, barbariem compescat, civilisque humanitatis mater dicatur et sit. Pateat mundo, quod divinæ auctoritatis et debitæ eidem obedientiæ manifestissimo specimine, in divina Pontificatus institutione dato, ea omnia stabilita et sacrata sint, quæ societatum fundamenta ac diuturnitatem solident.

Quod ubi perspexerint principes et populi, non permittent, ut augustissimum Tuum jus, omnis auctoritatis, omnium jurium certissima sanctio, impune conculcetur; imo ipsi curabunt, ut Tua Tibi constet et potestatis libertas et libertatis potestas; adsint subsidia ad sublime Tuum, illisque ipsis summe proficuum minis-

terium efficaciter exercendum ; nec patientur, ut vox Tua a gregibus Ecclesiæ sanctæ addictis prohibeatur, ne pabulo æternarum veritatum privati misere contabescant, laxatisve apud eos obedientiæ et reverentiæ erga divinum in Te residens magisterium vinculis, illa quoque auctoritas, qua reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt, in certissimum status civilis detrimentum labefactetur.

Hæc est spes nostra, quam corde fovemus. Hoc continuum precum nostrarum est, semperque erit, argumentum.

Macte ergo animo, Beatissime Pater, perge navim Ecclesiæ inter medias procellas securo, ut suevisti, manu ad portum adducere. Mater divinæ gratiæ, quam Tu pulcherrimo honoris titulo salutasti, intercessionis suæ auxilio tutabitur semitam tuam. Erit Tibi in stellam maris, quam invicta, uti soles, fiducia suspiciens, non frustra diriges cursum ad Illum, qui per eam ad nos venire voluit. Faventes habebis cœlestes Sanctorum choro, quorum beatam gloriam magno studio continuisque apostolicis conatibus exquisitam mundo exsultanti tum diebus istis, tum antehac annunciasti. Assistent Tibi Principes Apostolorum Petrus et Paulus, precibus potentibus sollicitudinem Tuam secundantes. In puppi, quam Tu nunc occupas, Petrus olim sedebat ; ipse apud Dominum intercedet, ut quæ navis ipsius suffragiis adjuta octodecim sæculis altum vitæ humanæ mare feliciter percurrit, Te duce, opimis immortalium animarum spoliis onusta, cœlestem portum plenis subeat velis. Quod ut fiat, nos curarum, precum et laborum Tuorum fideles devotosque socios habebis, qui divinam elementiam nunc quoque deprecamur, ut Tibi omni benedictione cœleste cumulado servantur augeanturque vires ; ut novis in dies animarum lucris dives sit vita Tua, sit longæva in terris, sit olim in cœlis beata !

Marius Cardinalis Mattei, Episc. Ostien. et Veliternen., et
S. Collegii Decanus.

Constantinus Card. Patrizi, Episc. Portuen. et S. Rufinæ.

Aloisius Card. Amat, Episc. Prænestin.

Ludovicus Card. Altieri, Episc. Albanen.

Nicolaus Cardin. Clarelli Paracciani, Episc. Tusculan.

Philippus Card. De Angelis, Archiep. Firman.

Engelbertus Card. Sterchx, Archiep. Meclinien.

Aloisius Card. Vannicelli Casoni, Archiep. Ferrarien.

Cosmas Cardin. Corsi, Archiep. Pisan.

Dominicus Card. Carafa de Traetto, Archiep. Beneventan.

Xistus Card. Riario Sforza, Archiep. Neapolitan.
 Jacobus Maria Cardin. Mathieu, Archiep. Bisuntin.
 Franciscus Augustus Cardin. Donnet, Archiep. Burdigalen.
 Carolus Aloisius Cardin. Morichini, Episc. Æsinus.
 Joachim Cardin. Pecci, Episc. Perusin.
 Antonius Benedictus Cardin. Antonucci, Episc. Anconitan.
 Henricus Cardin. Orfei, Archiep. Ravennaten. et administra-
 tor Diœcesis Cæsanen.
 Joseph. Maria Cardin. Milesi, Abbas Trium Fontium.
 Michael Cardin. Garcia Cuesta, Archiep. Compostellan.
 Joseph Aloisius Cardin. Trevisanato, Patr. Venetiarum.
 Ludovicus Card. De La Lastra-y-Cuesta, Archiep. Hispalen.
 Philippus Maria Cardin. Guidi, Archiep. Bononien.
 Henricus Maria Cardin. de Bonnechose, Archiep. Rotho-
 magen.
 Paulus Cardin. Cullen, Archiep. Dublinen.
 Rogerius Aloisius Antici Mattei, Patriarcha Constantinop.
 Paulus Ballerini, Patriarcha Alexandrin.
 Paulus Petrus Mashad, Patriarcha Antiochen. Maronitar.
 Gregorius Joseff, Patr. Antiochen. Græc. rit. Melchitar.
 Joseph Valerga, Patr. Hyerosolimitan.
 Thomas Iglesias y Barcones, Patriarcha Indiar. Occiden.
 Antonius Hassun, Primas Constantinop. Arm. rit.
 Joannes Simor, Primas Regni Hungariæ, Archiep. Strigon.
 Aloisius Maria Cardelli, Archiep. Acriden.
 Laurentius Trioche, Archiep. Babilonen.
 Meletius, Archiep. Dramaten. Græc. rit.
 Petrus Apelian, Archiep. Marascen. Arm. rit.
 Ignatius Kalybgian, Archiep. Amasien. Armen. rit.
 Petrus Riccardus Kenrick, Archiep. S. Ludovici.
 Petrus Cilento, Archiep. Rossanen.
 Alexander Asinari de Sanmarzano, Archiep. Ephesin.
 Alexander Angeloni, Archiep. Urbinaten.
 Georgius Hurmuz, Archiep. Siunien. Arm. rit.
 Aloisius Clementi, Archiep. Epis. Ariminen.
 Felicissimus Salvini, Archiep. Camerinen.
 Eduardus Hurmuz, Archiep. Siracen. Armen. rit.
 Raphael d'Ambrosio, Archiep. Dyrechien.
 Julius Arrigoni, Archiep. Lucanus.
 Joseph. De Bianchi Dottula, Archiep. Tranen. Nazaren. et
 Barolen.

- Eustachius Gonella, Archiep. Epis. Viterbien. et Tuscanien.
 Joseph Rotundo, Archiep. Tarentin.
 Gregorius De Luca, Archiep. Compsanus, Administrator
 Campanien.
 Joannes Hagian, Archiep. Cesarien. Armen. rit.
 Joannes Baptista Purcell, Archiep. Cincinnaten.
 Renatus Franciscus Regnier, Archiep. Cameracen.
 Maximilianus De Tarnoczv, Archiep. Salisburgen.
 Benjaminus, Archiep. Neapolit.
 Elias Mellus, Archiep. Acren. et Zhibaren. Caldaeor.
 Fridericus de Furstenberg, Archiep. Olomucen.
 Paulus Brunoni, Archiep. Taronen.
 Joseph Matar, Archiep. Maronita Aleppensis.
 Philippus Cammarota, Archiep. Cajetan.
 Franciscus Xaverius Apuzzo, Archiep. Surrentin.
 Cajetanus Rossini, Archiep. Epis. Melphiten. Jovenacen. et
 Terlitien.
 Petrus Villanova Castellacci, Archiep. Petr.
 Vincentius Tizzani, Archiep. Nisiben.
 Vincentius Spaccapietra, Archiepiscopus Smirnsensis.
 Marianus Ricciardi, Archiep. Reginen.
 Carolus Poeten, Archiep. Antibaren. et Scodren.
 Franciscus Emilius Cugini, Archiep. Mutinen.
 Jacobus Bosagi, Archiep. Cæsarien. Armen. rit.
 Raphael Ferrigno, Archiep. Brundusin.
 Salvator Nobili Vitelleschi, Archiep. Episc. Auximan. et Ciu-
 gulan.
 Alexander Franchi, Archiep. Thessalonicen.
 Petrus Bostani, Archiep. Tyren. et Sidonien. Maronit.
 Patritius Leahy, Archiep. Casselien.
 Josephus Hippolytus Guibert, Archiep. Turonen.
 Marinus Marini, Archiep. Epis. Urbevetan.
 Georgius Claudius Chalandon, Archiep. Aquen.
 Gregorius Szymonowicz, Archiep. Leopoliën. Armen. rit.
 Joachim Limberti, Archiep. Florentin.
 Antonius Salomone, Archiep. Salernitan.
 Philippus Gallo, Archiep. Patrassen.
 Petrus Giannelli, Archiep. Sardien.
 Joseph S. Alemany, Archiep. S. Francisci de California.
 Franciscus Pedicini, Archiep. Baren.

- Emanuel Garcia Gil, Archiep. Cæsaraugustan.
 Arsenius Avak-Vartan-Angiarakian, Archiep. Tarsen. Armen.
 rit.
 Julianus Florianus Desprez, Archiep. Tolosan.
 Ignatius Akkani, Archiep. Hauranan. Græc. rit. Melchitar.
 Franciscus Xaverius Wierzechleyski, Archiep. Leopoltan. rit.
 Lat.
 Spiridion Maddalena, Archiep. Coreyren.
 Gregorius Balitian, Archiep. Aleppen. Armen. rit.
 Joannes Maria Odin, Archiep. Novæ Aureliæ.
 Joannes Martinus Spalding, Archiep. Baltimoren.
 Leo Korkoruni, Archiep. Melitenen. Arm. rit.
 Carolus de la Tour d'Auvergne-Lauraguais, Archiep.
 Bithuricen.
 Joannes Hagg, Archiep. Helipoltan. Maron.
 Miecislaus Ledochowski, Archiep. Gnesnen. et Posnanien.
 Walter Steins, Archiep. Epis. Bosrensis, Vicarius Apos. Calcut.
 Primus Calvus Lopez, Archiep. S. Jacobi de Cuba.
 Benvenutus Monzon y Martin, Archiep. Granaten.
 Joseph Berardi, Archiep. Nicen.
 Petrus Alexander Doimo Maupas, Archiep. Jadren.
 Athanasius Raphael Ciarchi, Archiep. Bâbilonen. Syror.
 Georgius Darboy, Archiep. Parisien.
 Antonius de Lavastida, Archiep. Mexican.
 Clemens Munguia, Archiep. Mecoacan.
 Paulus Hatem, Archiep. Aleppen. Græc. rit. Melchitar.
 Petrus Matah, Archiep. Jarizensis in Syria.
 Ludovicus Anna Dubreuil, Archiep. Avenionen.
 Joannes Ignatius Moreno, Archiep. Vallisolitan.
 Martialis Guillelmus De Cosquer, Archiep. Portus Principis.
 Laurentius Pergeretti, Archiep. Naxiensis.
 Ludovicus Gonin, Archiep. Portus Hispaniæ.
 Melchior Nasarian, Archiep. Marden. Armen. rit.
 Darius Bucciarelli, Archiep. Scopien.
 Franciscus Fleix-y-Solans, Archiep. Tarraconen.
 Ludovicus Haynald, Archiep. Colocen. et Bâsien.
 Basilius Michael Gasparian, Archiep. Cypren. Armen. rit.
 Joannes Paulus Franciscus Maria Lyonnet, Archiep. Albien.
 Henricus Eduardus Manning, Archiep. Westmonasterien.
 Joseph Sembratowicz, Archiep. Nazianz. Græc. rit.

Paulus Melchers, Archiep. Colonien.
 Franciscus Xaverius de Merode, Archiep. Melitenen.
 Antonius Rossi Vaccari, Archiep. Colossen.
 Aloisius Ciurcia, Archiep. Irenopolitan.
 Alexander Riccardi, Archiep. Taurinen.
 Joseph Benedictus Dusmet, Archiep. Catanien.
 Joseph Cardoni, Archiep. Edessen.
 Joannes Baptista Landriot, Archiep. Rhemen.
 Carolus Martialis Allemand Lavigerie, Archiep. Julia
 Caesarien.
 Aloisius Puecher Passavalli, Archiep. Iconien.
 Aloisius Nazarri di Calabiana, Archiep. Mediolanensis.
 Joannes Petrus Losanna, Episc. Bugellen.
 Ignatius Giustiniani, Episc. Chien.
 Raphael Sanctes Casanelli, Episc. Adiacen.
 Guillelmus Aretini Sillani, Episc. jam. Terracinen.
 Modestus Contratto, Episc. Aquen.
 Theodosius Kojumgi, Episc. Sidonien. Melchitar.
 Joseph Maria Severa, Episc. Interamnen.
 Fridericus Gabriel de Marguerie, Episc. Augustodunen.
 Meletius Findi, Episc. Heliopolitan. Græc. rit. Melchitar.
 Franciscus Victor Rivel, Episc. Divianen.
 Julianus Meirieu, Episc. Dinien.
 Ludovicus Besi, Episc. Canopen.
 Antonius Ranza, Episc. Placentin.
 Dionisius Gauthier, Episc. Emausen.
 Georgius Antonius Stahl, Episc. Herbipolen.
 Andreas Ræss, Episc. Argentinen.
 Carolus Gigli, Episc. Tiburtin.
 Franciscus Maria Vibert, Episc. Maurianen.
 Joannes Fennelly, Episc. Castorien.
 Stephanus Ludovicus Charbonneaux, Episc. Jassen.
 Petrus Paulus Lefevre, Episc. Zetlhan. Adminis. Deroiten.
 Joannes Hilarius Boset, Episc. Emeriten.
 Fredericus Manfredini, Episc. Patavin.
 Nicolaus Grispigni, Episc. Fulginaten.
 Guillelmus Augebault, Episc. Andegaven.
 Joseph Armandus Gignoux, Episc. Bellovacen.
 Joannes Baptista Berteaud, Episc. Tutelen.
 Eleonorus Aronne, Episc. Montisalti.

Cajetanus Carli, Episc. Almiren.
 Joannes Franciscus Wheland, Episc. Aureliopolitanus.
 Joannes Thomas Ghilardi, Episc. Montis Regalis.
 Paulus Georgius Dupont des Loges, Episc. Meten.
 Petrus Severini, Episc. Sappaten.
 Petrus Joseph De Preux, Episc. Sedunen.
 Joannes Donney, Episc. Montisalbani.
 Carolus Fridericus Roussalet, Episc. Sagien.
 Jacobus Bailles, Episc. jam Lucionen.
 Joannes Williams, Episc. Bostonien.
 Cajetanus Carletti, Episc. Reatin.
 Joannes Brady, Episc. Perten.
 Felix Cantimorri, Episc. Parmen.
 Petrus Paulus Trucchi, Episc. Forolivien.
 Stephanus Marilley, Episc. Lausanen. et Geneven.
 Guillelmus Massaja, Episc. Cassien.
 Guillelmus Bernardus Ullathorne, Episc. Birminghamien.
 Alexius Canoz, Episc. Tamassen.
 Henricus Rossi, Episc. Casertan.
 Joannes Baptista Pellei, Episc. Aquæpenden.
 Franciscus Mazzuoli, Episc. S. Severini.
 Flavianus Abel Hugonin, Episc. Bajocen.
 Philippus Mincione, Episc. Miletan.
 Amadeus Rappe, Episc. Clevelanden.
 Joannes Corti, Episc. Mantuanus.
 Aloisius Ricci, Episc. Signin.
 Jacobus Alipius Goold, Episc. Melbournen.
 Eugenius Bruno Guiques, Episc. Outovien.
 Guillelmus De Cany, Episc. Cargianen.
 Paulus Dodmassei, Episc. Alexien.
 Camillus Bisleti, Episc. Cornetan. et Centumcellar.
 Thomas Mullock, Episc. S. Joannis Terræ Novæ.
 Maria Julianus, Episc. Diniensis.
 Franciscus Gandolfi, Episc. Antipatren.
 Joannes Antonius Balma, Episc. Ptolemaid.
 Aloisius Kobes, Episc. Methonen.
 Laurentius Guillelmus Renaldi, Episc. Pinerolien.
 Joannes Maria Foulchier, Episc. Mimaten.
 Rudesindus, Episc. Portus Victoriæ in Australia.
 Antonius Boscarini, Episc. S. Angeli in Vado et Urbanien.

Januarius Acciardi, Episc. Anglonen. et Tursien.
 Antonius De Stefano, Episc. Benden.
 Guillelmus Keane, Episc. Cloynensis.
 Antonius Felix Philibertus Dupanloup, Episc. Aurelianen.
 Ludovicus Franciscus Pie, Episc. Pictavien.
 Livius Parlatore, Episc. S. Marci.
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electus.

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Petrus Georgius Di Natale, Episc. Amiden. Chaldaeor.

Leo, Episc. Rupellensis et Santonensis.

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Joannes Chrysostomus Kruesz, Archiabbas O. S. B. S. Martini.

Guillelmus de Cesere, Abbas Montis Virginis.

IV.

VENERABILES FRATRES

Perjucunda quidem, licet a fide et devotione vestra prorsus expectanda, Nobis fuerat nobilis illa concordia, qua, sejuncti ac dissiti, eadem tenere, eadem asserere profitebamini, quæ Nos docueramus, et eosdem, quos damnaveramus, errores in religiosæ civilisque societatis exitium invectos execrari. Verum multo jucundius Nobis fuit hæc ipsa discere ex ore vestro, et nunc rursum a congregatis vobis explicatius et solemnius accipere; dum iis amoris et obsequii officiis Nos cumulatis, quæ mentes affectusque vestros luculentius verbis ipsis aperiant.

Cur nam enim tam prono animo obsecundastis desiderio Nostro, omnique incommodo posthabito, ad Nos e toto terrarum orbe convolastis? Scilicet explorata vobis erat firmitas Petræ, supra quam ædificata fuit Ecclesia, perspecta vivifica ejus virtus; nec vos fugiebat, quam præclarum utrique rei testimonium accedat a Christianorum heroum Canonizatione. Duplex igitur hoc festum celebraturi confluxistis, non modo ut sacris hisce solemnibus splendorem adderetis, sed ut, universam veluti fidelium familiam referentes, præsentia vestra non minus, quam diserta professione testaremini, eandem nunc, quæ duodeviginti ab hinc sæculis, vigere fidem, idem caritatis vinculum omnes nectere, eandem virtutem exeri ab hac Cathedra veritatis.

Placuit vobis commendare pastorem sollicitudinem Nostram, et quidquid pro viribus agimus ad effundendam veritatis lucem, ad disjiciendas errorum tenebras, ad perniciem depellendam ab animabus Christi sanguine redemptis; nempe ut e conjunctis priorum magistrorum sententiis ac vocibus, confirmentur Christianæ gentes in obsequio et amore erga hanc sanctam Sedem, in eamque acrius mentis oculos intendant. Corrogatis undique subsidiis huc convenistis civilem Nostrum sustentaturi Principatum tanta oppugnatum perfidia: ideo sane ut splendidissimo hoc facto,

et per collata Catholici orbis suffragia necessitatem ejus ad liberum Ecclesiæ regimen assereretis.

Dilectum vero populum Romanum, indubiaque et clarissima ejus obsequii in Nos et dilectionis indicia meritis laudibus proseguenda duxistis; quo et alacriores ipsi adjiceretis animos, et eum vindicaretis a conflatis in ipsum calumniis, et fœdam illis sacrilegæ proditiōis notam inureretis, qui, felicitatis populi obtentu, Romanum Pontificem e solio deturbare conantur.

Et dum arctioribus mutuae caritatis nexibus per hunc conventum obstringere studuistis omnes orbis Ecclesias, hoc etiam præstitistis, ut uberiore evangelico spiritu repleti ad Beatissimi Petri Principis Apostolorum et Pauli doctoris gentium cineres fortiores inde discederetis ad perrumpendas hostium phalanges, ad tuenda religionis jura, ad unitatis studium creditis plebibus efficacius ingerendum.

Quod sane votum apertius etiam se prodit in eo communi Concilii œcumenici desiderio, quod omnes non modo perutile sed et necessarium arbitramini. Superbia enim humana, veterem ausum instauratura, jamdiu per commentitium progressum civitatem et turrim extruere nititur, cujus culmen pertingat ad cœlum, unde demum Deus ipse detrahi possit. At Is descendisse videtur inspecturus opus, et ædificantum linguas ita confusus, ut non audiat unusquisque vocem proximi sui: id enim animo objiciant Ecclesiæ vexationes, miseranda civilis consortii conditio, perturbatio rerum omnium, in qua versamur.

Cui sane gravissimæ calamitati sola certe objici potest divina Ecclesiæ virtus, quæ tunc maxime se prodit, cum Episcopi a Summo Pontifice convocati, eo præside, conveniunt in nomine Domini de Ecclesiæ rebus acturi. Et gaudemus omnino, prævertisse vos hac in re propositum jamdiu a Nobis conceptum commendandi sacrum hunc cœtum ejus patrocinio, cujus pedi a rerum exordio serpentis caput subjectum fuit, quæque deinde universas hæreses sola interemit. Satisfactori propterea communi desiderio jam nunc nunciamus, futurum quandocumque Concilium sub auspiciis Deiparæ Virginis ab omni labe immunis esse constituendum, et eo aperiendum die, quo insignis hujus privilegii ipsi collati memoria recolitur.

Faxit Deus, faxit Immaculata Virgo, ut amplissimos e saluberimo isto consilio fructus percipere valeamus. Interim vero Ipsa validissimo suffragio suo præsentibus necessariam adjunctis opem

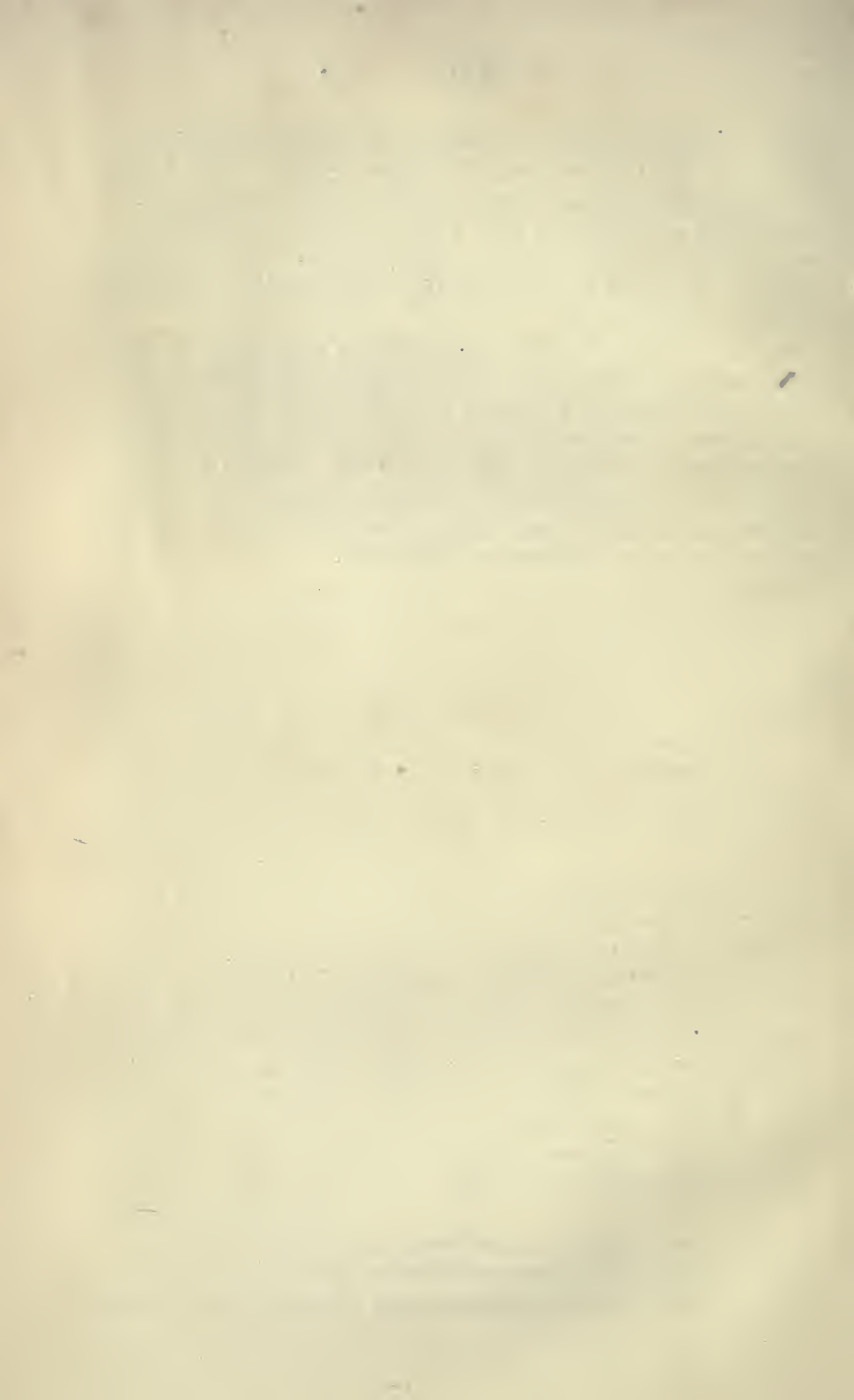
Nobis imploret. Deusque ejus precibus exoratus misericordiæ suæ divitias in Nos universamque Ecclesiam effundat. Nos certe amantissimi gratissimique animi sensu non extinguendo compulsi, enixe vobis adprecamur a Deo quidquid spirituali emolumento vestro, quidquid plebium vobis commissarum provectui, quidquid religionis et justitiæ tutelæ, quidquid civilis societatis tranquillitati bene vertere possit.

Et quoniam aliquot e vobis a peculiaribus populorum suorum necessitatibus coactos, citius a nobis discessuros esse comperimus; iis, si temporis angustiae singulos nobis complecti non sinant, in præsentiæ omnia ominamur secunda, et effuso cordis affectu bene precamur. Universis vero supernorum omnium bonorum copiosique divini auxilii auspicem, simulque præcipuæ benevolentiae Nostræ et grati animi testem, Benedictionem Apostolicam ex imo pectore depromptam peramanter impertimus.

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THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

AND THE

INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF :

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CLERGY

&c.

BY

HENRY EDWARD

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Effect of the Council already felt in England and in France, p. 5.

CHAPTER II.

On the opportuneness of defining the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, p. 25.

Reasons against the definition, 28; Answers to reasons against the definition, 33; Reasons for the definition, 38.

CHAPTER III.

Tradition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, p. 58.

Statement of the doctrine, 58.

1. Tradition from the Council of Constance to the Council of Chalcedon, 70.

Gerson, 70; Bishops of France, 71; University of Paris, 72; Stephen, Bishop of Paris, 73; Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, 73; Clement VI., 74; S. Thomas, 74; S. Bonaventure, 75; Council of Lyons, 75; S. Thomas of Canterbury, 77; S. Anselm, 77; S. Bernard, 78; Anselm of Havelburgh, 78; Synod of Quedlinburgh, 80; Council of Rome, 81; Eighth General Council, 81; Alcuin and Caroline Books, 81; Bishops of Africa, 83; Sixth General Council, 84; Formula of Hormisdas, 85; S. Leo, and Council of Chalcedon, 87.

2. Tradition from the Council of Constance to 1682, 93.

Opinions of Gerson, 96; Condemnation of Peter de Osma, 99; Faculty of Louvain, 99; Clergy of France, 101.

3. First formal enunciation of Gallicanism, 107.

Assembly of 1682, 107; Nomination by the King, 109; Resistance of the Sorbonne and other Faculties to the Four Articles, 110.

CHAPTER IV.

Two effects of the Council certain, p. 124.

Effect on the evidence and proposition of the Faith, 124; and on the relations of the Civil Governments to the Church, 127.

POSTSCRIPT. *Monseigneur Maret, 'Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse,' p. 139.*

CHAPTER I.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

In publishing, on the 27th of last May, the Apostolic Letters which direct us to invoke, in every Mass, the light of the Holy Ghost for the guidance of the coming Œcumenical Council, I refrained from adding any words of my own. But as the time now draws near when it will be my duty to leave you for a season, it seems fitting, and you may perhaps expect, that I should freely express to you the thoughts awakened by this event, and the intentions for which we ought to pray.

It has been said again and again, by those who desire what they say to be true, that the indiction of a General Council in ages past stirred the whole world, but in these days is received with complete indifference. If it be so, then the need of a General Council is proved, and the reason for convoking it is evident. If the Christian world be in a state of coma, it is time that the physicians should consult together. But is it the fact that the coming Council is ignored? What event in the last two years has excited so much attention? In what country of the Christian world has it been passed over in silence?

What Government has not occupied itself about it? There have been interpellations in legislatures, diplomatic circulars, hundreds of articles in a thousand journals in all countries of Europe, speeches in convocations, books, pamphlets, and letters in newspapers from the invited and the uninvited, an universal stir and excitement, not indeed within the unity of the Catholic Church, where all is calm in the strength of quiet and of confidence, but outside, in the political and religious world. The diagnosis of the case is, therefore, hardly correct. The patient is not insensible, but highly sensitive; lethargic at times, perhaps, and unconscious of the extent of his maladies, but fully alive to what is passing around him and impending over him in the future. It is true, indeed, that the indiction of the Council of Trent, for example, fell upon the conscience of Christian Europe while as yet it was visibly united to the Holy See. The errors of the so-called Reformation were already in activity, and the minds of men were deeply moved by many passions. Most of the Civil Powers of Europe were then Catholic, and had therefore a large participation in the Council. Now all is changed. Half of Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England and Scotland, have ceased to be Catholic. The Civil Powers in countries of which the people remain wholly or almost altogether Catholic, are so no longer. It is not to be expected that they will be moved by hope or by fear, by good or by ill will towards the Council in which they have foregone their share. Nevertheless, even among them, both in public and in private, the

coming Council already exerts an influence which is ever increasing in strength and in significance.

So true is this, that the question, who have or have not been invited, or who have or have not a right to sit in the Council, has been raised by many who are not of the unity of the Catholic Church. We should have thought that this question would solve itself. The convocation of Parliament is addressed only to its members, and its members are those only who are subjects of the Crown and are duly invested with the right to sit. The indiction of the Council is addressed to the Bishops of the Catholic Unity, who are subject to the authority of the Church, and members of its world-wide empire. By the Bull of Indiction all Bishops are, not invited, but obliged to attend. It is not an invitation, but a citation. They can be released from the obligation to appear only by the Supreme Authority which imposes it. It has been erroneously imagined that the two Apostolic Letters addressed, the first, to the Schismatical Bishops of the East, and the second, to all Protestants and others not Catholic, were issued to give an Œcumenical character to the Council. But this is a transparent error. The Council, by containing either numerically or morally the Pastors of the whole Flock throughout the world, subject to the Apostolic See, is thereby, *ipso facto*, Œcumenical. These two letters, therefore, were addressed in paternal charity to those who once were, and now unhappily are no longer, of the Catholic Unity. Their presence is not needed to make the Council Œcumenical. They are exhorted to avail

themselves of the moment of reconciliation and of peace offered by the assembling of the Council; and all alike on one and the same condition, namely, a recognition and submission to the Divine Authority of the Catholic and Roman Church, by which the Council will assemble, deliberate, and make decrees. They who have the Episcopal character validly impressed by undoubted consecration would, upon submission to the Divine Authority of the Church, be admitted to sit with the Episcopate of the Catholic world. The invitation therefore is, first, to reconciliation, and then to verification of their episcopal character. The Bishops of the Churches in the East, now in separation from the Catholic Church, are without doubt, for the most part, validly consecrated. They might, upon the renunciation of schism and any doctrinal error, at once be restored to their rank as Bishops. There are others in the West claiming the episcopal character, and claiming likewise to be Catholic, as the Jansenists of the Low Countries, and others again nearer home. If they believe their episcopal character to be unjustly doubted or denied, the way is open for examination and redress. It is not for me to say what the Supreme Authority may or may not see fit to do. But this, at least, I may venture to say, for this the Supreme Authority has already done. It has invited all those who are now separate from its unity to avail themselves of this occasion. Let them bring before the coming Council any cause in which they have been wronged; any claims which have not yet been heard, any alleged rights of which

they have been deprived. Three hundred years of contention, misery, and declining faith—not to go deeper into the dark memories of the past—may well turn the hearts of men once more to the Church in which their forefathers believed and died. God is not glorified by divisions, nor is our Divine Master honoured by contradictions among those who teach in His name. Let us hope, pray, and labour for unity in the truth. There are many signs of the times which betoken a happier day. Not to go further back than the last forty years, there has come over England a change which may be felt. A distinguished French writer has said that in the midst of the old England which is passing away, a new England is arising. The England of penal laws, and slavery, and unequal legislation is gone; the England of to-day has emancipated men from religious penalties, abolished slavery, and given equal laws to the people of these realms. This new England of to-day, with all its maladies—and they are indeed grievous and menacing, inherited from the sins of our forefathers—is, nevertheless, just, fair, merciful, and generous. There is a benevolence growing up where once was ill-will; and a reaction has set in towards those who have been wronged and falsely accused. Of this, evidence is on every side, in private and in public life; and this will have results hereafter which the most sanguine now do not venture to express. There may, perhaps, be found here and there some half-educated minds, or some interested and violent persons, who keep up the old rail against the Catholic religion. But the English people do not now believe you and me to be idolaters.

Twenty years ago many did so. But the light of day, and their own good sense, has destroyed this superstition. They know us to believe in many mysteries of the supernatural order; but they profess to believe in supernatural mysteries themselves. They cannot call us superstitious or credulous, without accepting the name themselves. They are coming also to see that the supernatural order needs a more solid and stable foundation than they can find in the midst of their many contradictions; they see that at last they are compelled in argument to rest upon the witness and testimony of Christendom. But for whom does Christendom bear its witness? The day is past for appeals to antiquity. If Christianity and the Christian Scriptures are to be maintained in controversy against sceptical criticism, the unbroken, world-wide witness of the Catholic Church must be invoked. This consciousness of dependence has worked like a benign influence upon the minds of those who believe Christianity to be a divine revelation, and the books of Scripture to be inspired. And I joyfully bear witness that a pious belief in these two divine truths pervades the English people. In saying this I do not forget the materialism, ignorance, indifference, practical atheism of millions. Nevertheless the Christian tradition of England, though grievously mutilated and robbed of its divine authority, still survives. There are in the Anglican communion, and among Nonconformists, millions who believe in Jesus Christ, His person and His redemption, with a heartfelt and loving faith; and their faith bears noble fruits. Many of their errors

come from a jealousy for these very truths. It was a master-stroke of the enemy of truth to make them reject the words and the will of Jesus Christ out of jealousy for His Person and His work. As they who killed His disciples believed they were doing a service to God, so they rejected the unity and authority of His Church and sacraments ordained by Him, and doctrines which came from His lips, in the belief that they were thereby honouring His Person and His truth. But this illusion of the Evil One has been at last found out. Fair and truthful minds acknowledge at this day that every truth for which they profess to be jealous is menaced, and in a multitude of minds altogether lost. But they cannot deny that in the Catholic Church these very truths are not lost or menaced, but universally taught and believed in all fulness and precision. The mission and work of the Catholic Church in England is like that of S. Paul in Corinth. In the midst of a highly civilised, intellectual, luxurious, refined, philosophical, and contentious race, he preached 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' Some asked for signs and others for wisdom; some were incredulous, others were critical; they sought after learning, eloquence, logic: he preached, affirmed, and re-affirmed again, as one having authority, sustained by a consciousness of a mission and a message both alike divine. Men chafed against both the matter and the manner, and against the manner even more than the matter of his teaching. It was perpetual affirmation. They would not see that his divine authority was a part of his message, and that the divine cer-

tainty of what he taught was the foundation of that authority; that their 'faith might not stand on the wisdom of man, but on the power of God.'* If the people of England indeed believe in 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified,' we shall soon see the unity of faith arising out of our endless confusions: for to believe in Him we must know who He is, that is, that He is God, consubstantial, co-*eternal*, co-equal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, therefore we must know the Holy Trinity, One God in three persons; and His Manhood, therefore His Incarnation, two perfect natures in One Divine Person, and thereby also the dignity of His blessed Mother as Mother of God. We must believe also what He has done for us, that is, the redemption by His most precious blood; what He has taught us, or the whole undiminished truth which He has revealed; and what He has commanded us, or all the institutions and obligations of His moral and positive law. All these four assemblages of truth are contained in the knowledge of 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' No one can be said to know Him who does not know who He is, what He has done, what He has taught, what He has commanded; but no one can know these things who does not know the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the whole doctrine of faith, the whole order of the Church, its unity and authority, the institution of the Holy Sacraments, with all the grace they convey and the obligations they impose. But this is to know the Catholic Faith and the Catholic Church; and as men become once

* 1 Cor. ii. 5.

more calm and candid, as the storms and passions of three hundred years subside, they will see that in their haste and illusions they have wounded Him whom they professed to honour, and have destroyed His work whom they have desired to serve.

For the last thirty years there has been an awakening in the mind of England, such as, for three hundred years, has never been before. There is a sense of loss and of privation, an honest acknowledgment of the evil done by the so-called reformers ; a desire to restore what has been broken down ; a painful consciousness of division, contention, and uncertainty ; a conviction that these things are contrary to the will and commandment of our Divine Master : an aspiration after unity, a hunger for truth, a longing after the return of the Divine Presence which once dwelt in the old churches of England. Besides this, there is a consciousness that the Church of Christ cannot be cribbed up within four seas ; that it fills the world, and that the insular Christianity of England, even if it were perfectly united in itself, could not live long when disunited from the Christian world. The spread of the British Empire, and the spread of Anglicanism to the colonies, has still more powerfully awakened this aspiration for a higher unity. Wheresoever the insular religion of England goes, it finds a Church and a Faith before it, which contains islands and continents, and the whole world, in its unbroken unity. The colonies of Great Britain are acting powerfully, both in politics and religion, on the mother country. They both give and receive an influence which will deeply modify and assimilate

the whole British Empire to a type, not of the past, but of the future. The mother country has impressed its outlines upon the colonies; the colonies are now silently but surely transforming the mother country into their own likeness. But neither will ultimately prevail. Another image and likeness is returning upon both. The great principles, axioms, and maxims of our English law, derived from Catholic times and from the Catholic Church, lie imperishable at the foundation of our political order. They have been carried throughout our colonies, and have reproduced in all our dependencies a political and social life homogeneous to our own. This unity of first principles would seem to promise for the British Empire a future of solidity and endurance, if only the insular narrowness of England be wisely effaced. The Tudor legislation in religion, which for three hundred years has afflicted England and persecuted Ireland, has never been able to establish itself in our colonies. There, the Catholic Church has been always freer than it is even now in England and in Ireland. The abolition of the Tudor statutes is as certain as the rising of the sun to-morrow. In Ireland it is already done. In England it will not long tarry. A larger and more living spirit of justice and charity is bursting the bands which human violence imposed upon the liberty of divine faith. In this our colonies led the way, and the mother country must inevitably follow. We have seemed to be paradoxical and provoking when we say that S. Thomas of Canterbury is regaining his hold on the hearts of Englishmen. But it is emphatically true. He died for the liberties

of the Church ; and the liberties of the Church, howsoever they may be embodied in some particular cause in debate, resolve themselves ultimately and necessarily into these two principles, or axioms of faith : the one, that no human authority whatsoever of kings, princes, legislatures, or human laws may come between the soul and God ; the other, that this perfect liberty of the soul in faith is derived from God, and has for its witness, guide and guardian, the Divine Authority of His Church. The English people have long professed the former of these truths. Even the established religion, the whole history of which is at variance with this principle, perpetually asserts it. One half of the English people have vindicated it by suffering under penal laws, unto bonds and death. It is this profound conviction which has helped to abolish the State Church in Ireland. The accumulated action of the colonies, of Ireland, and of half the population of Great Britain, will inevitably, and before long, abolish the state religion in England. The British Empire then, both in its political and its religious life, will have burst its bands, and will reconstitute itself upon a wider base than the area of our four seas. What faith, and what unity then, will be commensurate to such an empire, it is not difficult to foresee. Even the Russian despotism is powerless to maintain the unity of the Greek Church. Half the Russian population dissents from the established religion. If liberty of faith were granted, no church would long stand but that which is the fountain, guide and guardian, of the liberty of faith. To manifest this to the world, the Divine Head of the Church seems so to order

its destinies that the two chief fields of its power and expansion should be the British Empire and the United States. In these two vast spheres of intense intellectual activity and vehement energy of will, an episcopate of a hundred and seventy Bishops rules over missionary churches the most united, vigorous, and prolific to be found in the whole world. I do not know how others may have regarded the assembly of the Anglican Bishops of England and America two years ago. Something may indeed have invited the criticism as much of their own flocks as of others. But to me it was a subject of hope. It was an explicit evidence of the desire for unity which is working in various ways on every side. They, no doubt, desired to confine that union within their own system; but they felt that the insular narrowness of England is not enough. They invited America and the colonies to bear a part. This alone proved a wider desire and a higher aspiration, which such an assembly can never satisfy. It gave a great impulse to those who have been praying for reunion. They do not fear to declare that America and Australia are not enough without Catholic Europe; and that even Constantinople is not enough without Rome. These ideas have been scattered broadcast; and where they have lighted they have infused desires and prayers in myriads of hearts up and down in England and throughout the Anglican system, which nothing can extinguish, nothing can stay. They will work on in silence with a potency which is not of man only, preparing for a time when those who are separate from the only unity of Divine foundation will be irresistibly absorbed by its supernatural power and grace.

It is certain, then, that in England the indiction of a General Council has come at a time when the minds of men are specially prepared for it. Even if they had been silent, their silence would not have been the silence of indifference. But there has been no silence. Both in public and in private, by word and by writing, an interest serious and respectful has been shown.

But in this country the interest felt about the Council is chiefly, if not altogether, in its bearing upon religion. In France, besides this, perhaps the chief interest arises from its bearing upon politics. The debate in the Corps Législatif in July of last year shows how profoundly the minds, not of Catholics only, but of mere politicians, are moved by the anticipations of what the Council may decree. In a moment of haste and precipitation, some French writers and politicians have interpreted the condemnations in the Syllabus as a condemnation of the principles of 1789. This is enough to rouse a great turmoil. But is it well to take for granted, and to make us who are at a distance believe, that the principles of 1789 are such as the theology and the morality of the Christian Church must condemn? We would desire to believe, if we can, that those principles, even if they bear the marks of a period of excitement rather than of calm and measured thought, are nevertheless in some way reconcilable with the great laws of political morality which lie at the foundations of human society, and are consecrated by the sanction of the Christian world. I should be sorry to believe that there is anything indelibly impressed on the

political order of the great French people which is at variance with the intellectual and moral system of the Catholic Church.

In touching on this point, so dear to that illustrious nation, as hereafter in touching once more on another subject, relating to the history of 1682, I shall refrain as far as possible from using language of my own, lest unconsciously I should do, what a French writer has lately, unreasonably I think, and without cause imputed to me; that is, in any way wound ever so lightly the dignity of France. I shall in both cases use the words of devoted and distinguished sons of that great people. The Prince de Broglie, in treating of the variance between the Church and modern society, which is so sedulously preached by those who desire to exclude the Church from the political order, says that the Catholic Church has stood in relations with civil society these eighteen hundred years in all lands: 'from Constantine to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Charles V., from Charles V. to Louis XIV., from Louis XIV. to 1789.' 'Why, then, should there be one only date, 1789, when this spirit of adaptation in Christianity has failed, and one only society which is bound to divorce Christianity on account of incompatibility of temper? . . . In reflecting on this singular fact, which is the great problem of our times, I can only find one cause to assign, namely, the abstract and philosophical character which society in France, by the organ of its legislators since 1789, has always affected to give to the principles on which it is constituted.' 'France,' he adds, 'is the only nation

which has undertaken the generous but adventurous task to labour “not for one nation in particular, but for all the human race; not for one time, but for all times.” ‘The only thing I shall permit myself to say is, that it is this philosophical character, impressed on all our laws, which has passed also into our manners and our language, that brings with it a complication, until now without example in the relations of a State, and of a society, with the Christian religion, and even with any religion whatsoever.’ ‘To recognise the principles of 1789 with the character of universal obligation which they affect, is to add an appendix to the Catechism, and ten or twelve articles to the Creed.’ ‘The French Revolution in making itself philosopher, metaphysician, and almost theologian, has entered upon the territory of the spiritual. It is a Church which it opposes to the Church, and a new Catholicism which it desires to substitute for, or associate with, the old. A concordat is not enough; many a Council would be necessary to complete such an operation. Such is, to my mind, the true point of difference between society in France and the Church. It does not limit itself, as all its predecessors, to demanding of the faithful and of their pastors to pay the taxes, observe the laws, lend their aid to the regular action of public functions: it exacts of them on points of doctrine, such as the origin of sovereignty, the liberty of thought, the natural equality of man, a veritable profession of faith, accompanied by an *amende honorable* for all adhesion, in other places and at other times, to doctrines contrary to itself.’ ‘It is not very surprising

that a great institution, which has charge of souls in all the world, should hesitate to commit itself to a symbol of ideas so wanting in precision as to lend itself in fifty years to the Constitution of '91, the Charter of 1830, and to the *Plébiscite* of 1862.'

He then points out the ambiguity and uncertainty of a document which may be interpreted in four or five ways. 'Is it indeed the same principle which adapts itself to two interpretations so contrary to each other? In the matter of religious liberty, how many commentaries have we not had? There is the *administrative* interpretation, which recognises no other worships than those of which the State pays the heads, and fixes the legal status. . . . There is the *liberal* interpretation, which is much more respectful to the rights of individuals. . . . There is the *revolutionary* interpretation, which gives free course to all aberrations of thought. . . . So many schools are there, all sheltering under the common name of liberty of thought, of which the doctors and disciples, intolerant enough for each other, pretend alike to exclusive orthodoxy.'

'Imagine face to face our social elements, still in effervescence and in struggle, and that old power, resting on the immovable base of dogma clearly defined, which has seen crumbling at its feet the ruins of a hundred peoples and the dust of twenty ages.' He then imagines a dialogue 'between that antique spiritual power and the impatient sons of modern France. What do you ask of me? it seems to say to them. To live in peace with your governments? But I have already signed with them more than one con-

cordat, and it is not I that desire to break them. Not to preach insurrection against your laws? I foment revolution nowhere. Do you wish me to recognise those laws as the crown of social progress, and that I should propose them as such to the imitation of the whole world, and to the admiration of future generations? That is what you will never obtain from me. Speak to me of charity, of necessity, of equity, of accomplished facts to be accepted, of acquired rights to be respected: I hear you and understand you. But do not talk to me either of the ideal or of the absolute; for the ideal for me will never be any other than the future I am awaiting, and, in my eyes, the absolute is the Truth, which I represent.' 'This lays the finger on the substance of the debate. If the society of France is willing to be taken like all its predecessors, as a mixture of good and evil, imperfect as all human things, the peace with the Church will be made, if it be not made already. But if its demand be that it should be held sacred, and all but canonised, I doubt if it will obtain that favour. All the advocates in the world, able or ardent, impassioned or powerful, statesmen and sectaries, will waste upon it their pains and their eloquence.' *

These thoughtful and pointed words are enough to assure anyone how groundless and needless are the fears of politicians in France lest the Œcumenical Council should decree anything inconsistent with the true bases of civil society. And surely no French politician will admit that the principles of 1789 are

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, février 1869: Le Christianisme et la Société, pp. 546, 553, par Albert de Broglie.

out of square with those bases of political right. We have, however, a proof which has now attained the dignity of a very touching historical fact. Some ten years ago a young French priest, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the seminary of Langres, Léon Godard, published a short treatise on 'The Principles of '89 in Relation to Catholic Doctrine.' His object was, if possible, to remove the supposed contrariety between the principles of '89 and the principles of the Christian Church: a wise and charitable purpose to which we are all daily invited, I may even say provoked, by the alternate tones of perplexity and of challenge which come up from friends and foes. In a matter so difficult, and so prejudged by the passions of men, it is no wonder that a good young priest should so have written as to lay himself open to censures not unjust. With the true spirit of a Catholic and a Christian, he went at once to the Holy See and submitted himself and his work to correction. The book was subjected, by the highest authority, to examination; and an edition, corrected and enlarged, was printed in Paris in 1862, with the authorisation of the Roman censors, and a truly paternal and consoling letter from the Bishop of Langres. In that letter are quoted the words of the President of the Roman theologians, addressed to the Bishop. They run as follows:—'This work, tried by a severe scrutiny by certain Roman theologians, was found by them to teach nothing in any way opposed to the dogmas of Catholic faith; wherefore they judged that it may be published.' I remember that I once saw M. Léon Godard at Rome while his book was under

examination. He had visibly upon him the marks of sickness and of anxiety. Knowing how much he had suffered from the censures which had fallen upon him, I could not but express the sympathy every Catholic feels towards those who set so noble an example of sincerity and submission. Not long after, the tidings came that Léon Godard was gone to a world where there is no more any cloud upon the truth, nor any mistrusts among the servants of God. In the conclusion of his work, M. Léon Godard writes:—‘Such is our profession of faith in regard to the principles of ’89. We believe that they do not contradict any decision of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, to the judgment of which we submit without reserve; and we are convinced that they are in harmony, in respect to opinion, with the judgment of the most accredited doctors of the Church and of the schools.’ ‘If, then, our pen has not betrayed our thoughts, it will be seen that there is nothing in common between our doctrines and those of false liberalism.’ . . . ‘We will maintain the principle of ’89 inscribed in the constitution of our country; but with all the explanations which we have given, and which no one has a right to exclude, because, as we have said, the epoch of ’89 is one of a double face, the one good the other evil; the one liberal in the legitimate sense of the word, the other revolutionary. The tactics of our adversaries are to draw us to a complete rejection of ’89, in order at once to accuse us of a desire to set up again the *ancien régime*, with all its abuses, and to overthrow our existing laws. These tactics we will baffle, and we

will not abandon an inch of ground which we have a benefit in defending and a right to hold.' *

The work of M. Léon Godard will go a long way to relieve the fears and to rectify the misconceptions of certain politicians and political writers in France. It will show that neither the Council nor the Syllabus, interpreted, not by any individual, but by the Holy See, need cause the fears—I would venture to use a familiar word, and say the scare—which in some quarters appear now to exist.

* *Les Principes de '89, et la Doctrine Catholique*, par l'Abbé Léon Godard. Lecoffre, Paris, 1863.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE OPPORTUNENESS OF DEFINING THE
PONTIFICAL INFALLIBILITY.

HITHERTO our subjects have been obvious, and our way easy and clear. But now we approach to matters over which it is not possible, either to pass in silence or to venture on the declaration of any final judgment. I mean, the subjects with which the Œcumenical Council will occupy itself. You are already well aware that the preparatory congregations are seven in number, and that the matters distributed to them comprehend faith, philosophy, discipline, the relations of the Church with civil society, education, and the like.

We have heard on all sides that the Council will define this and that doctrine as of faith; then, again, we are assured that the moderation of wise men will prevent any such definitions. We learn, chiefly indeed from those who are out of the unity of the Church, but upon alleged communications from the most learned and most distinguished, as well as the wisest and most moderate, of the bishops and theologians in the Catholic Church, that this will be, and that will not be, entertained by the Œcumenical Council.

It can hardly be necessary, reverend and dear

brethren, to say to you that all these confident assurances are pleasant illusions. None but those who are admitted to the work of preparing for the Council know what is in preparation, and they are all bound by the Pontifical Secret. From them, nothing can be known; from others, nothing can be learned. As S. Augustine said: '*Nemo dare potest quod non habet.*' We may therefore dismiss all those confidential communications.

But beyond this, they who believe, as we do, that an Œcumenical Council deliberates and decrees by an assistance over which human partisanship, political calculation, private interests, controversial rivalries, and human errors have no power to prevail, will have no anxiety as to the result, and no eager predispositions to express. If the Council should decide contrary to their previous judgment, they would rejoice to be corrected by its unerring guidance; if it should refrain from pronouncing on matters on which they previously believed a decision to be opportune or even necessary, they would with their whole heart submit their judgment, and believe that such a decision would be not only not necessary, but not even opportune. In this sense of perfect submission, springing from faith in the perpetual and infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit, all Catholics will await the final result of the first Council of the Vatican. All this hot anxiety as to its decrees belongs to minds used to the contentions of convocations which may err, or to the debates of Parliaments in which parties rule the day. But to those who believe with undoubting faith that the acts of the coming Council,

whatsoever they be, will be not only infallibly true, but wise and opportune, and that the result, whatever it be, will lay down a rule of faith in matters of belief, and a rule of thought and judgment in matters of prudence, there can be no anxiety, or impulsive desire for this or for that result. They will remain in a calm equilibrium of mind and will, ready with promptness and with joy to accept whatsoever decrees come forth as the wisest and the best. 'He that believeth, let him not hasten.'*

With this temper of mind, and with this submission of will, I may now take up the chief topic of the Pastoral Letter addressed to you two years ago on the Centenary of S. Peter; but, in doing so, I shall endeavour to lay it before you with the arguments adduced, *hinc inde*, on either side. We have been often told of late that one subject to be defined by the Council will be the infallibility of the Pope. They who tell us this are chiefly those who, being out of the unity of the Church, believe this doctrine to be false; and they rely upon statements made, as they allege, by Catholics few and rare in number, who do not believe the doctrine to be true, or by Catholics who, believing the doctrine to be true, nevertheless are of opinion that to define it would not be opportune.

With those who are without, we have nothing now to do. With the handful of Catholics who do not believe the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ speaking *ex cathedrâ*, we will not now occupy ourselves. But the opinion of those who believe the doctrine to be true, but its definition to be inopportune

* Isaias xxviii. 16.

tune, deserves a full and considerate examination. We will endeavour so to weigh it, in preparation of heart to accept whatsoever may be decided by the supreme authority of the Church.

Once for all, let me repeat that we are now about to weigh the reasons, not for or against the truth of the proposition 'that the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ* in matters of faith and morals, cannot err;' but assuming, for the time, that this proposition is certainly true, whether it be *opportune*, that is, timely, prudent, and expedient, that it should be defined.

I. REASONS AGAINST THE DEFINITION.

1. It may be said that no necessity or urgent reason can now be found for the promulgation of such a definition, inasmuch as the whole Episcopate and the whole priesthood of the Catholic Church, a few only excepted, together with the whole body of the faithful, have always received, and have even in these times received with veneration, docility and joy, the doctrinal decisions which have been published by Pontiffs, and recently by Pius the Ninth.

2. That for the determination of all controversies, and for the solution of all doubts, the decree of the Council of Florence respecting the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff as universal doctor, together with the profession of faith enjoined by Pius IV. in conformity with the mind of the Council of Trent, is sufficient.

3. That in order to decide and to determine this

question fully and precisely, it would not be enough to declare simply the Pope to be infallible; but it would be necessary, at the same time, to declare, and that by a dogmatic decree, the form and the mode in which the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is to be manifested: which would be a difficult question, and would involve the authority of the Holy See in many new and grave complications.

4. That the making of such a definition would be exposed to this intrinsic difficulty. Suppose the bishops not to be unanimous, what course should then be taken? Suppose, again, that they were unanimous in declaring the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff to be a doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ, and always and in all churches traditionally taught and believed, would they not, in the very act of defining the dogma, seem to profess that there is no authority in defining the faith inherent in the Episcopate?

5. That such a definition would be of doubtful utility, and would rather hinder the hope of re-uniting the Eastern Churches to the Holy See, for the genius of the Greek and Oriental mind is such as to recoil from every new word. It is well known what serious and endless controversies the single phrase 'Filioque' has stirred up. For which reason, in the profession of faith enjoined by Gregory XIII. for the Greeks, and by Urban VIII. and Benedict XIV. for the other Orientals, the very words of the Florentine Decree, without any change or addition, were retained.

6. That such a definition would retard also the return which we so much desire of Protestants to the unity of the Church; inasmuch as the new dogma

would excite and increase in large numbers a prejudice against the Catholic Church, and especially against the Roman Pontiff, and thereby render it more difficult for them to understand and to embrace the faith, by raising a suspicion that the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is a novelty unknown in earlier ages.

7. That this question, concerning which it is by no means certain that there is any necessity to define it, might possibly raise divergencies among the bishops, who now are of one mind and heart in reverence and obedience to the Holy See; a result which would be most disastrous.

8. That it is not impossible that the defining of the Pope's infallibility might cause doubts, or, what is worse, dissensions among Catholics who are otherwise sound, and perfectly and willingly submissive, from conviction, to the authority of the Church; and that, because certain historical facts and documents are not as yet sufficiently explained; so that in many countries the minds of men are not sufficiently prepared for such a definition.

9. That such a new decree would be no remedy for the perversity and contumacy of the few persons who reject the decisions of the Supreme Pontiff, and appeal from them to a General Council, as the only judge of controversies; forasmuch as their aberrations come not from error of intellect, but from perversity of will. The infallible authority of Almighty God does not hinder men from rejecting the truth He has taught, and following their own errors. 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them; if they hear not them, neither will they believe' the defini-

tions of the Church. There is a difference, also, between a definition of the infallibility of the Pope and that of any other Christian doctrine. In the latter case, the authority of the Church may be sufficient to overcome any doubt. In the former it is this very authority, the principle and fountain of all certainty in faith, which is in question. Would it not, therefore, be more prudent to spare the weakness of those who are not yet able to bear this definition, which, though many think it to be useful, nobody thinks to be necessary? Would not the example of Our Lord and the Apostles commend to us this mode of proceeding?

10. That it may be feared lest, by a perversion of the true sense of such a decree, some may be induced to ignore and to despise the authority given by our Lord to bishops, especially in the condemnation of rash and pernicious opinions in philosophy and theology.

11. That it may also be feared lest bishops, whom for some years the Apostolic authority has been calling into activity, in order that they should not straightway send to Rome all doubts about books and matters of which it is their office to judge, might, by such a definition, be rendered more backward in exercising their episcopal office of judges of doctrine.

12. That it would soon probably follow from such a definition, by reason of the nature of man, that not only matter of doctrine on which the supreme decision of the Church is desired, but also many other kinds of business would be sent to Rome, there to be judged, decided, and solved; so that everything would crowd in to the centre of unity. And

great as is the erudition, experience, justice, prudence, and authority of the Roman Congregations, such a course would not be for the prosperity of the Universal Church; for the Church, as the Holy Ghost teaches, is a body, but the health of a body depends on the force and motion of all and each of the members. 'If all were one member, where were the body?' (1 Cor. xii. 19.) Nobody doubts that the chief member of the body is the head, and that in it, as in its centre and seat, the vital force resides; and yet no one will say that the soul resides in the head alone, which is rather diffused as its form throughout the members of the whole body.

These, then, are reasons for judging that a dogmatic decision on the infallibility of the Pope would not be opportune. Let that suffice which has been already declared, and has been believed by all; namely, that the Church, whether congregated in Council, or dispersed throughout the world, but in the Successor of Peter always one, is always infallible, and that the Supreme Pontiff, according to the words of the Council of Florence, is 'the teacher of the whole Church and of all Christians.' But as to the mysterious gift of infallibility, which by God is bestowed upon the Episcopate united to the Pope, and at the same time is bestowed in a special manner on the Supreme Pontiff, and by which gift the Church, whether in an Œcumenical Council or by the Pope without a Council, guards and explains the truths of revelation, it is not expedient to make further declarations unless a proved necessity demand, which necessity at present does not exist.

II. ANSWERS TO THE REASONS AGAINST THE DEFINITION.

On the other hand it is urged :

1. That if the Episcopate, priesthood, and people, are, with so few exceptions, unanimous in receiving with submission and assent the Pontifical Acts, there would not only be no risk in promulgating such a decree, but they would rejoice to see the formal reason of that Catholic submission justified by an authoritative definition; or, if the number of those who refuse submission be more numerous, a necessity thereby is proved for the declaration of the truth.

2. That the Decree of the Council of Florence ought to be sufficient; and would be, if it were not misinterpreted by those who deny the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedrâ*. The existence of this misinterpretation by Gallicans and by Anglicans shows that the decree is not sufficient.

3. That the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, held, as it is alleged, by all but a small number, is already subject to the questions as to the form and mode of its exercise. These questions will not become less clear by being defined; and by being made more clear, the complications which now arise from want of a clear declaration will be avoided. Erroneous or doubtful opinions give rise to complications; but truth excludes doubt and obscurity in proportion as it is precisely defined.

4. That if the bishops were not unanimous as to the making of a definition, no doubt the prudence of

the Council would know what course to take. The Council of Trent made no definition of the Immaculate Conception. It went to the very verge, but no further. If the bishops were unanimous in declaring the prerogatives of the Head of the Church, they would not thereby abdicate or divest themselves of any privileges or endowments divinely conferred upon the Episcopate. The divine endowments of the Church are not at war with each other. The Apostles did not cease to be infallible because their Head was so. The infallibility of the Church does not diminish the infallibility of Councils. The endowments of the body are the prerogatives of the head, and both have their proper sphere and their full and legitimate exercise. No bishop alone is infallible, nor is the whole Episcopate infallible without its Head. Of what, then, could they divest themselves by declaring their Head to be infallible?

5. That the hope of reunion with the East is alone to be found in the explicit recognition of the divine prerogatives of the Church. Reunion on anything short of this, on any base, obscure, ambiguous, or equivocal, would not endure for a day. The rent would be made worse. The Decree of the Council of Florence, which is alleged to be sufficient, was not sufficient for the Greeks. They accepted it, but as soon as they were again at Constantinople they threw it to the winds. Reunion is not to be gained or to be sought by reducing its conditions, like a bargain, to the minimum; but by an explicit and precise acceptance of the truth. Gregory XIII., Urban VIII., Benedict XIV., kept strictly to the Florentine Decree,

because no other existed then. No other exists at this day; and the question is, whether the events of the last three centuries do not demand a more precise declaration of the supreme authority.

6. That the return of Protestants to the Church is more retarded now by the apparent contradiction among Catholics on the subject of infallibility, than it could be by the definition of the infallibility of the Pope. They now reject the infallibility of the Church altogether, because they believe that we are divided, and therefore in doubt about it. What we seem to doubt, they are encouraged to deny. We seem to be in doubt because we are divided, not about the infallibility of the Church, but about the infallibility of its Head. They believe this answer to be a subterfuge. So long as the infallibility of the Pope is not authoritatively declared, they cover themselves under the shelter of those Catholics who deny it. And to our shame, they borrow their belief that the opinion is a novelty, not to be found in earlier ages, from ourselves. The Gallicans put weapons into their hands, which they use against all infallibility whatsoever.

7. That no divergence among the bishops is to be feared, the unanimity alleged above may assure us. But if it were to exist, in what would it be of greater moment than in respect to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception at the Council of Trent? The prudence of the Council, both natural and supernatural, would know how to deal with such a contingency; and if divergence in anything should arise, no diminution of filial and cordial obedience

to the Holy See could follow in those things where all are unanimous.

8. That if the pastors of the Church be unanimous, there is no fear of dissensions or doubts among the faithful. Rather, the dissensions and doubts, if any now exist, arise from the allegation that the pastors are not unanimous as to the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It is of the highest moment to expose and extinguish this false allegation, so boldly and invidiously made by heretics and schismatics of every name. For this reason alone the sooner the unanimity of the pastors of the Church can be manifested the better, both for truth and for the salvation of souls. The same reason holds as to the supposed historical difficulties. They have been examined and exposed over and over again; but they will be perpetually repeated, and with increased confidence, so long as the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff shall seem to be left undefined. Where the Church has spoken, the faithful are not open to seduction. While the Church is silent, the spirits of error are clamorous and plausible. A definition would silence all voices but the voice of the Church.

9. That such a decree would satisfy those who, out of heretical perversity, oppose the Faith, or out of ignorance and insubordination excommunicate themselves by appealing from the Supreme Pontiff to a General Council, is not to be expected. But if there be a hope for them, it would be in rendering clear beyond all possibility of question the divine certainty of Faith; and this is closely connected with the divine authority of the Head of the Church. The example

of our Lord in sparing the infirmities of the weak, who were as yet unable to bear mysteries not yet revealed, is no warrant for keeping back any revealed truth because men will not believe the revelation already made. This would tacitly assume that the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ is not a revealed truth. If it be a revealed truth, our Lord's example is not in point ; still less that of the Apostles, who 'kept back nothing,' and declared to the faithful 'all the counsel of God.'*

10. That the perverse interpretation or abuse of a decree must always be only partial, and can never be either widespread or permanent in the Church, and can therefore afford no reason against its being made, if the proper reasons exist for making it; and that the definition of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff can in no way lessen the authority of bishops as judges of doctrine in their own flocks, but on the contrary give great support to all their legitimate acts. It does not appear how bishops should be more authoritative because their Head is less so.

11. That, for the same reason, it does not appear probable that bishops would be less active as pastors and judges in their own churches because the doctrine which they already unanimously believe had received its formal definition. If the belief of its truth does not now produce these consequences, it does not yet appear why the definition of that truth should do so.

12. That, lastly, no centralisation of the ordinary administration of the Universal Church could legiti-

* Acts xx. 20, 27.

mately follow or be in any way promoted by a definition of the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in matters of faith and morals. Such a definition belongs to a higher order, with which the ordinary pastoral office of bishops can rarely have any immediate contact. Questions of faith and morals, on which the Church has not already judged, very rarely arise in any diocese. The infallibility here in question has no relation to the multifarious administration of dioceses. Such a definition as we speak of would either have no appreciable influence on the ordinary administration of bishops; or if any, only in the way of giving certainty and solidity to the judicial acts and pastoral jurisdiction of the Episcopate throughout the world.

For these reasons, it appears to some that the objections to such a definition have no sufficient weight to dissuade the Council from making it.

III. REASONS FOR THE DEFINITION.

Such then, reverend and dear brethren, is a brief statement of the arguments for and against, as to the question whether such a definition be opportune. Thus far we have weighed only the objections and the answers. Those who believe that such a definition would be not only opportune, but is urgently required by the circumstances of these times, give their reasons as follows:—

1. They think such a definition would be opportune because the doctrine is true; for if true, can it be said with prudence that to declare it is not oppor-

tune? Is not this question already closed by the fact that God has thought it opportune to reveal it? Can it be permitted to us to think that what He has thought it opportune to reveal, it is not opportune for us to declare? It is true indeed that, in revealing the Faith, God in His wisdom and compassion was slow, deliberate, and gradual, measuring His light to the infirmities of the human intelligence, and preparing the minds of men for a fuller manifestation, both of His presence and His kingdom. But this divine procedure, binding as it may be on us in dealing with heathen nations who have never heard His name, is in no way binding, nay, is not even permissible, in dealing with those who have been baptized into the full revelation of faith. From them nothing may be kept back. With them no economy can be admitted. There is now no ‘*disciplina arcani*’ among the members of His mystical Body. They are illuminated to know ‘the Truth as it is in Jesus’ in all its fulness: ‘that which you hear in the ear, preach ye upon the housetops.’*

By ‘opportune,’ then, in the mind of the objector, must be meant something politic or diplomatic, some calculations of local expediency in respect to nations and governments. This sense of opportunity is proper to legislatures and cabinets in deliberating on public utilities and opinions; but in the Church of God, and in the truth of revelation, it is always opportune to declare what God has willed that man should know. Nay, more than opportune: if the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ be a doctrine of

* S. Matthew x. 27.

Jesus Christ, 'necessity lieth upon us, and woe unto us if we preach not the gospel.'* It may, however, be said that many revealed truths are not defined; and that it does not follow that any doctrine ought to be defined, only because it is true.

2. This is indeed certain, but a further reason for defining it is easy to find. This revealed truth has been denied. There are two reasons for which the Church from the beginning has defined the doctrines of faith: the one, to make them clear, definite, and precise; the other, to reaffirm, and to defend them, when they have been called in question. If the infallibility of the visible Head of the Church had never been denied, it might not have been necessary to define it now. The true doctrine of justification was never defined till it was denied. The nature of inspiration has never yet been defined, but the denial which is now widespread may one day demand it. In like manner the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff has been denied. Its definition therefore becomes necessary. We affirm that it was never formally denied before the period of the Council of Constance, and that this modern denial of the truth renders its definition necessary. We are told by objectors that the denial is far more ancient and widespread: that only makes the definition all the more necessary. They who, to make the doctrine appear doubtful, or to prove it to be false, represent the denial of it to be ancient and widespread, in that proportion increase the necessity of declaring it by a dogmatic decree. Such a denial as emanated from the so-called Assembly of the French

* 1 Cor. ix. 16.

clergy in 1682 would amply suffice to show that the definition would be opportune.

3. And further: the denial of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff has already generated extensive doubt as to the truth of the doctrine. We are asked, if the doctrine be revealed, how is it that you allow it to be denied? If you are not doubtful about it, why not put an end to doubt by declaring it to be true? It is certain that not only Protestants believe the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility to be an open question among Catholics, but some Catholics are tempted to believe it to be theologically doubtful, and therefore not revealed; irreconcilable with history; a modern exaggeration arising from the adulation of courtiers and the ambition of popes. In France, to deny it has become a test of political independence. In England, some Catholics are stunned and frightened by the pretentious assumption of patristic learning and historical criticism of anonymous writers, until they doubt, or shrink in false shame from believing a truth for which their fathers died. The contact of the Catholics of England with the Catholics of France, good and beneficial as it has been, nevertheless introduced among us both books and habits of thought which were of the Gallican school. This has spread among us an opinion that the infallibility of the Pope, if possibly true, is nevertheless doubtful; and this doubt, dormant and harmless as it may be in pious and simple minds, who are never put to the test about it, and if tested would instinctively go right in spite of intellectual perplexities, is in restless and active minds full of danger, above all in a Pro-

testant country, and in the midst of all manner of controversial warfare. The admission of a doubt as to any revealed doctrine is fatal to faith in that doctrine.

4. It would appear, not only to be opportune that this doctrine should be placed beyond the reach of doubt by a dogmatic decree, but that such a decree would be specially opportune at this time, because the formal and systematic denial of the truth in question has arisen since the last General Council.

It may at first sight appear that this statement is at variance with the common assertion of theologians, that the denial of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff had its rise in the circumstances of the Council of Constance. Two distinct periods must be noted in this subject. From the Council of Constance to the Council of Trent this denial was confined to the opinions of a handful of men, and to the disputation of the schools in France. So little was it known elsewhere, that when the Church met in the Council of Florence, it made, without hesitation, its celebrated decree on the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff as the Universal Pastor and Doctor of the Church. Nevertheless the erroneous opinion lingered on from the time of Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, and Almain, in what De Marca calls the 'Old Sorbonne,' to distinguish it from the Sorbonne of his own day. It is certain, then, that before the Council of Trent this opinion had not assumed the systematic and elaborate form given to it by the Assembly of 1682, and by those who have defended the Four Articles. This modern and dogmatic form of the denial of the

Pope's infallibility, *ex cathedrâ*, was completed in the seventeenth century, that is, since the last General Council.

5. Now, if the next General Council meet and separate without taking any notice of this denial, one of two inferences may perhaps be drawn. It may be said that Gallicanism has obtained its place among tolerated opinions; or, at least, that it may be held with impunity. It does not readily appear what could be said in answer to this. It would be hardly enough to say that it was not thought opportune to meet so grave a denial of a doctrine universally taught everywhere out of France, nor to carry into execution the acts of Alexander VIII., Innocent XI., and Pius VI., who have authoritatively censured it. 'Qui tacet, consentire videtur.'

6. It cannot be said that the denial of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is obscure, unobtrusive, and latent. It is patent, notorious, importunate, and organised. It exists, not indeed in power, as once it did in France; but it exists still. Its roots are yet in the soil and alive. It exists in a handful of active and hostile minds in England and in Germany, and it has been taken up by Protestants in both countries as a weapon of controversy or of contumely against the Catholic Church, and especially the Holy See. To find or to invent a division among us is their only hope. To foment the least divergence into a conflict is their chief policy. There can be no doubt that Gallicanism affords them their most advantageous attack. Catholics are visibly united on all doctrines of faith, even on the Immaculate Conception; but on

the infallibility of the Pope, Gallicanism has caused a divergence, which Protestants think or pretend to be a contradiction in faith. The combined action of Gallicanism within the Church and of Protestants without it, has given to this erroneous opinion a notoriety in the last two centuries, and especially in France and England, which takes it out of the category of imperfect and innocuous errors which may be left to evaporate or to be absorbed. It has inscribed itself in the history of the Church, and will live on until, by the Church, it is finally condemned.

7. Prudence would require the condemnation of any notorious error which may hereafter produce ill effects; but the denial of infallibility in the Head of the Church has already produced ill effects; nevertheless, so long as no condemnation is stamped upon the error, it will always pass for a tolerated opinion. Impunity is taken for acquittal. The faithful will never believe that it is wrong to do that which they see done every day, and even by ecclesiastics, without note of censure. They do not know that three popes have condemned the denial of their infallibility; and if they did they would justly say, 'But as we are not bound to believe the infallibility of the Pope, therefore his condemning the denial of his infallibility proves nothing. If he be infallible, why are we not told so; if he be not infallible, where is the harm of saying so?' The effect of this upon the doctrinal authority of the Church is gravely injurious. When it is affirmed that Scripture and tradition, and theological reason, and the acts of Councils, and the declarations of Pontiffs, all attest the infallibility of

the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, and that three Pontiffs have prohibited the denial of it, and that the whole *consensus* of theologians, with the exception of a handful, and that a transient and national school, all alike declare the same, we are met at once by the question, 'Why, then, is it permitted to deny it? What may be done with impunity cannot be wrong.' 'Where there is no law, there is no transgression.' This may not be logical; but the answer to this is not obvious.

8. And further, the prolonged existence of this error keeps up a theological and practical disunion in mind and feeling among the faithful. Let the truth be declared, whichever way it go. Truth generates union and peace; doubt generates secret antipathies, contentions, and mistrusts. We live in an age and country where Catholics are compelled to hear, and, if not to read, at least to know, what the public opinion and public press of an anti-Catholic people can say against the Faith and the Church. They hear that their pastors are Ultramontanes; that they are exaggerated and extreme; one-sided and partisan, ignorant, superficial, and untruthful in history, untrusty in reasoning. All this they hear, perhaps, with offence and pain; but it leaves its blight behind. Secret doubts and misgivings arise. They say to themselves: 'Perhaps, after all, there is some truth in all this. If there were none, could it have been so often and so confidently said? Where there is smoke, there is fire.' A small number of Catholics, also—for what motives God knows—have added to this scandal, partly by writings bearing their names, partly by

anonymous writing in Protestant papers and reviews. All this would expire like smoke when the hearth is cold, if there were an authoritative declaration of the truth. Till then, they who, in the face of every kind of malevolent imputation and impertinent criticism, defend that which the Theological Schools of the whole Church, under the direct sanction of the Holy See, have both taught and teach in every Catholic country, must patiently bear the petulant and pretentious criticism of anti-Catholic minds, aided, unhappily, by some who bear at least the Catholic name. They will not, indeed, be unwilling to bear it for the truth's sake, nor do they care for any contempt for their own; but they have a continual sorrow for the scandal of the weak, the hindrance of truth, the perversion of minds, the alienation of hearts, the party spirit, the mistrust among brethren, and, worst of all, the mistrust of flocks in their pastors, which are caused by these animosities and infidelities.

9. Of these scandals, a direct effect is that the action of truth, both within and without the Church, at least in this country, is enfeebled. All who have experience in the state of minds out of the Church, and in their painful approaches towards it, and all whose duty it has been to hear and to read the objections of those who enter not in themselves and hinder those who are entering, will know that the alleged doubts about infallibility and the supposed extravagances of Ultramontanes return in every case with the constancy and monotony of the tide. The effect of this is to confuse, perplex, and indispose the will. A

dubious authority, like a dubious law, imposes no obligation. No one will submit to he knows not what. The contentions of Gallicanism and Ultramontaniam obscure the authority of the Church, and make it seem to be doubtful. Utterly false and unreasonable as this is, it has its effect in alarming, confusing the mind, and rendering it incapable of discernment, and the will indisposed to submission.

On our own people within, thank God, such temptations have less power; but every priest will know by his experience what misery and mischief has been done to timid or scrupulous, or, again, to rash and contentious minds. It must never be forgotten that faith, like humility and purity, is a grace of the Holy Spirit. It is to be matured and strengthened by truth and by obedience; it may be endangered and extinguished by falsehood and disobedience. But doubt is the shadow of falsehood and the prelude of unbelief. If there be any truth of the faith in which ambiguity is perilous, it is the Divine and infallible authority on which all faith reposes. The infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ is the infallibility of the Church in its Head, and is the chief condition through which its own infallibility is manifested to the world. To convert this, which is the principle of Divine certainty, into a doubtful question, and one of the highest endowments of the Mystical Body, into a subject of domestic strife and fraternal alienation, is a master-stroke of the Enemy of Truth and souls.

10. It is some times alleged that if the infallibility of the Pope, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, were defined, it would meet with widespread refusal. Not so: rather, like

the Immaculate Conception, it would be met by universal acceptance. The same prophets in sackcloth prophesied unbelief, contention and schism, before the Immaculate Conception was defined. We were then told that there was not a trace of it in antiquity; that the Fathers were against it; that Schoolmen and Saints denied it; that to define it would separate the Church of to-day from the Church of the past, remove faith from the broad tradition of the Christian world to the airy basis of the Pope's authority, draw narrower the conditions of communion by adding a new test, and fatally divide the 'Latin Church.' The answer is before men's eyes. Nevertheless, we have volumes of matter, undigested and misunderstood, from Fathers and Schoolmen, published and republished, without a trace of consciousness that a complete exposure of all this incoherence has again and again been made. The same is now the prophecy as to the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. There is no trace of it in antiquity; the Fathers knew nothing of it; the Schoolmen are against it; the Saints ignore it; the Councils exclude the notion of it; the tradition of thirteen hundred years refutes it; the adulation and ambition, the ignorance and the servility of the Roman Curia have invented a novelty which all the independent, learned, and noble-minded of all countries have, with irresistible logic and surpassing erudition, in vain resisted. We are told that this novelty is all that is now wanting to narrow the Roman Church to its Latin dimensions; that its definition will at once exclude all the independent, learned, and noble minds lingering and suffering

within its oppressive unity; that, as true friends of the 'Latin Church,' they urge us, with all cordial solicitude, to refrain from declaring the Roman Pontiff to be infallible; that our true policy is comprehension, the concession of points to which their patristic learning forbids submission, the explaining away of the Council of Trent to admit the Thirty-nine Articles according to Sancta Clara; that if, unhappily, under the blind pressure of the ignorant and the courtly adulation of the ambitious, and, above all, the subtle management of the Jesuits, this crowning aberration be added to the Roman theology, the Latin Church will finally stand convicted by Scripture, Antiquity, Fathers, Schoolmen, Councils, Historical Science, and all that is independent, learned, noble, and masculine in its own communion, and be thereby delivered over to its own infatuation and downfall. To these self-complacent advisers it is enough to say, 'Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia.' There is not to be found a theological truth, not as yet imposed as of faith, for which such a cumulus of proof exists of every kind and of every age, and under every one of the *loci theologici*, as for the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. The evidence of the belief of the universal Church in the immaculate sinlessness and pre-eminent sanctification of the Mother of God, vast as it is, does not approach, either in extent or in explicitness, to the evidence for the infallibility, that is, the stability of faith in the Successor of Peter. There is no truth which already so pervades the mind of the whole Church, by unbroken tradition from the beginning; nor any which would meet with

a more universal and unanimous acceptance on its definition and promulgation. Even in France, the only country in which, for a time, and under the pressure of political causes, the doctrine has been opposed, the opposition exists no longer as a theology or a school. '*La doctrine française*,' as its friends truly but unwarily call it, lingers as a national tradition; surviving rather as a reminiscence than as a conviction.

11. The definition of the Immaculate Conception has filled up and completed the analogy of the new creation, and of the Second Adam and the Second Eve. It has also rendered precise and complete the doctrines of original sin and of grace. In like manner the treatise of Divine Faith has one part as yet undetermined, which would be completed by the completion of the doctrine of infallibility. The virtue of divine faith has for its formal motive the veracity of God, and for its ordinary means of knowing the revelations of God, the proposition of the Church. But if the proponent be fallible, the certainty on which the revelation comes to us cannot be divine. The Church, by the divine assistance of the Holy Ghost, is infallible, and the certainty of the truths proposed by it to our faith is divine. But if the Head of the Church be fallible, the certainty of truths because proposed by him—as, for instance, the Immaculate Conception—cannot be divine, and is therefore fallible; but if fallible, it cannot exclude doubt, and for that reason cannot generate faith. Where faith is, doubt cannot be; and where doubt is, faith ceases to be. The treatise

of Divine Faith is therefore incomplete so long as the infallibility of the proponent be not fully defined.

12. The same is true as to the treatise *de Ecclesia*. The infallibility of the Church dispersed or congregated is matter of necessary faith. The infallibility of the eighteen General Councils in which the Church has been congregated is also of necessary faith. But the Church, during the last eighteen centuries, has done a multitude of acts by its Head alone. Are these acts infallible or not? For instance, the declaration of original sin by Innocent I., and of the Canon by Pope Gelasius; and more recently, of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX. What does the treatise *de Ecclesia* teach as to the Head of the Church and his prerogatives? Are his declarations and condemnations in matters of faith and morals fallible or infallible? The question has been formally raised, and is of the greatest practical moment. Until it be solved, the treatise *de Ecclesia* is so far incomplete.

13. The practical importance of this question will be manifest at once by remembering that for three hundred years the Pontiffs have elaborately and expressly condemned a long series of propositions in theology and philosophy. The 'Theses Damnatae' are very numerous. Now, are these fallible or infallible? Do they require of us the assent of faith, resting upon the Divine authority from which they emanate; or are they venerable utterances, to be respected indeed always, with assent if we agree with them, with silence if we do not? Has the

Church, then, for three hundred years, been mistaking doubtful utterances for certainties; and that in matters of faith and morality, involving the absolution of souls from sin? They who deny the infallibility of the Pontiffs have here a hard task to reconcile their theory with fidelity to conscience and to truth.

14. But to pass from the region of theology to that of politics. The definition of the infallibility of the Pontiffs, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, is needed to exclude from the minds of Catholics the exaggerated spirit of national independence and pride which has, in these last centuries, so profoundly afflicted the Church. If there be anything which a Catholic Englishman ought to know, it is the subtile, stealthy influence by which the national spirit invades and assimilates the Church to itself; and the bitter fruits of heresy and schism which that assimilation legitimately bears. The history of England, from S. Thomas of Canterbury to Henry VIII., is a series of steady encroachments of the civil power upon the liberty of the Church, in all its operations, in its possessions, discipline, elections, tribunals, appeals, and jurisdictions. The whole English Church became charged and saturated by the secular spirit; its whole mind was clouded, and its whole will was bribed, till under Henry VIII., by a few acts of intimidation, its resistance was quelled; and it fell, whole and altogether, under the power of the Crown. The schism once complete, the work of heresy was inevitable, and was pursued at leisure. Such might have been also the history of France from Charles VII. to Louis XIV. The

French monarchy confirmed its hold on the Church of France. The process of subjugating the ecclesiastical liberties to the parliaments and tribunals of the country was steadily pursued; but the Church of a great nation, or rather of an aggregate of nations, in close contact and affinity with the Holy See, with the memories and even the present influences of Avignon in the midst of it, could not fall under a royal master, as the Church of an island, far off and detached from Rome, fell under the violence of a royal tyrant. The great Church of France was led, indeed, to the verge of danger through its national traditions, but it has never passed the line. English nationalism became the Anglican schism. French nationalism checked itself at the Gallican Articles. The Anglican Reformation has no perils for the Catholic Church; it is external to it, in open heresy and schism. Gallicanism is within its unity, and is neither schism nor heresy. It is a very seductive form of national Catholicism, which, without breaking unity, or positively violating faith, soothes the pride to which all great nations are tempted, and encourages the civil power to patronise the local Church by a tutelage fatal to its liberty. It is therefore certain that Gallicanism is more dangerous to Catholics than Anglicanism. The latter is a plague of which we are not susceptible; the former is a disease which may easily be taken. Gallicanism is also the last form of Regalism yet lingering in the Church. The Imperialism of Constantinople and of Germany is gone. Time has rendered it obsolete, because impossible; the ecclesiastical prerogatives of medieval

Europe have likewise expired, with the religious unity which alone rendered them just. But the unity of the French nation renders it yet possible that influences and claims inconsistent with the liberty of the Church may still exist. Anything that fosters this idea of National Churches, independent, except in a few vital relations, of the Holy See, powerfully excites a spirit which is not filial. An Episcopate which depends as little as it can upon the Pope, rears a laity which depends as little as possible upon the Episcopate. I am not saying that such is the spirit of the noble and Catholic people of France at this day; but I should not be going too far if I were to give this as a description of Gallicanism, and of the spirit and tendencies generated by it. So long as the Articles of 1682 remain as a standard of orthodoxy, this spirit and tendency will be kept alive. When these Articles are buried, one of the worst germs of Regalism will be extinct.

In speaking of France, I think it a duty to guard against a misunderstanding which appears—contrary, I must believe, to all reason and justice—to have arisen from some words addressed by me to you, reverend and dear brethren, two years ago, in a Pastoral on the eighteenth Centenary of S. Peter's Martyrdom.* In speaking of the supremacy of S.

* Two pamphlets have appeared in Paris, the one by the Abbé St. Pol, Chanoine Honoraire, the other by the Abbé d'Upalgaz, de l'Université d'Alcalá. In both, and almost in the same words, I am censured for saying that Gallicanism produced the great French Revolution. No proposition so shallow was uttered by me. What I really did say, and here repeat, is, that, as the despotism of the Tudors corrupted the Church in England, and produced

Peter's See, it was inevitable that I should speak on the subject of Gallicanism; but I endeavoured so to do it as to avoid wounding, by the lightest word, the profound Catholic instincts of our brethren in France. Many of its most eminent sons, both ecclesiastics and laity, have so spoken to me of what I then said as to assure me that my words gave them no cause to think me wanting in heartfelt veneration and affection for the Church in France, glorious in all its history for martyrs, confessors, and saints; fruitful in all deeds of fidelity to the Holy See, and of charity to all mankind. I should not only grieve, but I should hold myself guilty of a high crime against humility, charity, and justice if I had so spoken; and I desire here and now, if any word of mine shall seem to be wanting in veneration and admiration for the Church and people of France, hereby to disclaim all fault, except for the want of skill in dealing with a delicate but inevitable subject. I make this declaration now by way of preface to what I am about to add. In the Pastoral of 1867 I was recalling to your mind the history of Gallicanism, and my words were these:—‘The boldness or the unconsciousness with which Gallicanism is sometimes put forward as an opinion which Catholics are free to hold without blame, and as a basis on which Churches are to unite under the shelter of Bossuet, and as a

both Anglicanism and the revolutions which have destroyed it; so also the despotism of certain French monarchs paralysed the liberty of the Church, and produced both Gallicanism and the revolutionary reaction which has effaced Gallicanism in France. It is a little daring, and hardly respectful, to tell us that the martyred clergy of 1799 died for Gallicanism.

standard of Catholic moderation in rebuke of ultramontane excesses, makes it seasonable to tell its history. Gallicanism is no more than a transient and modern opinion which arose in France, without warrant or antecedents in the ancient Theological Schools of the French Church; a royal theology, as suddenly developed and as parenthetical as the Thirty-nine Articles, affirmed only by a small number out of the numerous Episcopate of France, indignantly rejected by many of them; condemned in succession by three Pontiffs; declared by the Universities of Louvain and Douai to be erroneous; retracted by the bishops of France; condemned by Spain, Hungary, and other countries, and condemned over again in the bull "*Auctorem Fidei*." * Whether I am justified in using these words, the next chapter will show.

Now, in the following chapter I will give the outline of the history of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff; and in doing so sufficient evidence will, I hope, appear by the way to justify the assertions of the above quotation.

What will appear may be thus stated:—

1. That Gallicanism has no warrant in the doctrinal practice or tradition of the Church, either in France or at large, in the thousand years preceding the Council of Constance.

2. That the first traces of Gallicanism are to be found about the time of that Council.

3. That after the Council of Constance they were rapidly and almost altogether effaced from the theology of the Church in France, until their revival in 1682.

* The Centenary of S. Peter, etc., p. 41.

4. That the Articles of 1682 were conceived by Jansenists, and carried through by political and oppressive means contrary to the sense of the Church in France.

5. That the Theological Faculties of the Sorbonne, and of France generally, nobly resisted and refused to teach them.

I am the more anxious to render this testimony to the Church in France, and to the Sorbonne, because I never fully knew, till I read the evidence published in this year by M. Gérin, how nobly that illustrious Church contended against the Articles of 1682.

CHAPTER III.

TRADITION OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF
THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

THUS far we have enumerated, briefly, the reasons adduced for and against defining the infallibility of the Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedrâ*. In order, then, to preclude as far as possible any ambiguity or uncertainty as to the limits and extension of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, intended by me in this Pastoral, and by those known to me, who believe this to be a truth of revelation, I will once for all state the various opinions which have been put forward in opposition and in its defence. No better analysis can be found than that of Bellarmine, which I will therefore simply transcribe. After saying that the Pontiff may be considered in four ways—1, As a private person; 2, As a private Doctor; 3, As Pontiff alone with his counsellors; 4, As Pontiff with a General Council, Bellarmine says:—

1. 'Both Catholics and heretics agree in two things; first, that the Pontiff, even as Pontiff and with his counsellors, or even with a General Council, may err in controversies as to particular facts, which chiefly depend on the information and testimonies of men; secondly, that the Pontiff, as a private doctor, may err even in questions of faith and morals; and

that from ignorance, as at times happens to other doctors.

2. ‘Next, all Catholics agree in two other things, not indeed with heretics, but among themselves. First, that the Pontiff, with a General Council, cannot err in framing decrees of faith, or general precepts of morals. Secondly, that the Pontiff alone, or with his own private Council, whether he may err or not, in deciding anything in a dubious matter is, nevertheless, to be obediently listened to by all the faithful.

‘These points so disposed of, only four opinions remain.

‘The *first* is, that the Pontiff, even as Pontiff, although he define a doctrine with a General Council, may be a heretic himself, and teach heresy. . . . This is the opinion of all heretics, especially of Luther and Calvin.

‘The *second*, that the Pontiff, even as Pontiff, may be a heretic, and may teach heresy if he define without a General Council. This is the opinion of Nilus and the later Greeks, of Gerson, Almain, and others.

‘The *third*, that the Pontiff cannot in any way be heretical, or publicly teach heresy, even though he alone frame a definition: which is the opinion of Pighius in book iv., chap. 3, of the “Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.”

‘The *fourth*, which lies between these extremes, is, that the Pontiff, whether personally he can be a heretic or no, cannot, in any event, define anything heretical to be believed by the whole Church. “This is the most common opinion of nearly all Catholics,” as S. Thomas says.

‘Of these four opinions, the first is heretical: the second not *proprie* heretical, for we see still that it is tolerated in the Church; yet it appears to be altogether erroneous, and proximate to heresy.’

It is to be borne in mind that Bellarmine wrote this before the Four Articles of 1682 had been framed or censured.

‘The third opinion is probable, but not certain.’

‘The fourth opinion is most certain, and to be asserted.’*

Bellarmino in later years reviewed his ‘Controversies,’ and wrote of this point as follows:—

‘This opinion is more rightly the common *judgment* of Catholics; for *opinion* implies uncertainty, and we hold this judgment to be certain.’ And again, ‘I said that the opinion of those who teach that infallibility of judgment resides not in the Pope, but in the General Council, is not plainly heretical, but erroneous and proximate to heresy. We do not, indeed, venture to pronounce that opinion plainly heretical, because they who follow it have, neither they nor their books, been condemned by the Church. Nevertheless, it seems to us so manifestly erroneous, that it may deservedly be declared by the judgment of the Church to be heretical.’

In the Pastoral of 1867, I gave a number of quotations by which the strange misconceptions or misinterpretations of objectors are sufficiently precluded.

The words *ex cathedrâ* exclude all acts of the Pontiff as a private person or as a private Doctor, and confine the character of infallibility to those acts which

* Bellarm. Controv. de Summo Pontif. lib. iv. cap. 2.

are promulgated from the Chair of supreme authority as Universal Doctor of the Church in faith and morals.

We have been lately told, by those who desire to hinder the definition of this doctrine by secular opposition rather than by theological reason, that there are some twenty opinions as to the conditions required to authenticate an utterance of the Pontiff *ex cathedrâ*. I will therefore venture to affirm that no other conditions are required than this: That the doctrinal acts be published by the Pontiff, as Universal Teacher, with the intention of requiring the assent of the Church.*

This, then, is the opinion which, in the following pages, we shall exclusively intend by the terms *ex cathedrâ*.

It will be observed that the fourth Gallican Article differs from all the above-cited opinions, inasmuch as it asserts that the judgments of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith are not irreformable, unless the assent of the Church—that is, either congregated or dispersed, either previously or subsequently—shall adhere to them.

The Gallicans maintained the infallibility of the See of Peter, but not the infallibility of his Successor.

The tradition of the Church, while it refuses to

* This cannot be better expressed than in the words of F. Franzelin, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman College:—‘Sive Concilio sive Pontifici infallibilitatis charisma competit, quando et quatenus, ut *divinitus constitutus magister Ecclesiæ, intendit definitivâ sententiâ docere Ecclesiam universam auctoritate postulante consensum in veritatem propositam.*

‘Locutio *ex cathedrâ* nihil est aliud quam descripta propositio authentica doctrinæ. Quid enim est cathedra apostolica nisi supremum authenticum magisterium pro universa Ecclesia?’

separate the See from the Successor of Peter, affirms the identity, and therefore the infallibility, of both.

In order to narrow the question, I may add that no one now contends for the necessity of General Councils. The framers of the Four Articles of 1682 were too intelligent to contend that the assent of the Church congregated in Council is necessary to an infallible declaration of the Pontiff. They contended only for the consent of the Church dispersed. But it will be difficult for them to show that such an opinion is to be found in the tradition of the Church. It is the inversion of the immemorial belief and practice of the Church. It will not be difficult to show, even in the narrow limits of a Pastoral, that the tradition of the Church is not to test the teaching of the Pontiffs by the assent of the Church, but to take the doctrine of the Pontiffs as the test of the doctrine of the Church. The Head spoke for the whole Body, and the utterances of the Head were the evidence of what the Body believed and taught. It can hardly be necessary to add that, in order to constitute an article of faith, two conditions are necessary, the one intrinsic, the other extrinsic : the former, that the doctrine to be defined be contained in the divine revelation ; the latter, that it be proposed to us by the Church as revealed.

If there be anything for which the whole tradition of the Church bears witness, it is to the stability in faith of the See and of the Successor of Peter.

If there be anything not yet defined which is nevertheless proposed, as of divine certainty, by the constant tradition of the Church, both dispersed and

congregated, it is that the Roman Church and Pontiff are by divine ordinance an infallible authority in interpreting the faith and expounding the law of God.

It is obviously impossible now to do more than trace the outline of the subject; but this I will endeavour to do, and to point out that this doctrine in question has already passed through the historical periods which mark its progress towards a final definition.

For example, let us first look at the history of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. This truth was fully but implicitly contained in the universal belief of the Church, both east and west, as to the absolute sinlessness and pre-eminent sanctification of the Mother of God. This constituted the first period of unanalysed belief. The doctrine was thus commemorated, year by year, in the Festival of the 'Ἀγιασμός, or the 'Sanctificatio' of the Blessed Virgin. The second period was one of analysis, forced upon the Church by the Pelagian heresy, and arising also from the legitimate and inevitable intellectual action of the faithful upon the matter of faith. The Festival of the Sanctification of the Blessed Virgin legitimately became the festival of the Immaculate Nativity. The third period was the period of definition, in which the two opinions of the Immaculate Nativity and the Immaculate Conception contended together, till the one was continually so weakened as to lose all probability, the other was so confirmed as to become certain. The Immaculate Conception was then, at last, defined and proposed as a doctrine of revelation and an article of faith.

The doctrine of the infallibility of the Church,

though not as yet defined, is everywhere declared in the whole history of Christianity. It has likewise its distinct periods, steadily advancing to a definition. But it will be seen that the infallibility of the visible Head of the Church is intrinsically necessary to the infallibility of the Church. The same periods of simple belief, of analysis, and of definition may be traced. The first, in which the belief of the infallibility of the Church and of the Pontiff pervaded all the world, both east and west. This belief was not only professed but reduced to practice in the public action of the Church; and in every public and authoritative instance on record the infallibility of the Church is declared to rest upon the stability in faith of the Roman Church, or of the See of Peter, or of the Apostolic See, or of the Successor of the Apostle, or of the Voice of Peter, still teaching by his Successor in his See. The 'praxis' of the Church—that is, its immemorial, universal, and invariable procedure in the declaration of faith and the condemnation of error—implies and demands always as its motive the stability in faith of the Roman See, and in almost all cases explicitly declares it. This period extends from the beginning to the time immediately preceding the Council of Constance. The second period is, as before, one of contention and analysis, in which Occam, John of Paris, Marsilius of Padua, Nicholas de Clemangiis, Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, and others of less note, began to distinguish and to deny what had till then been always implicitly or explicitly believed. What they began in France was afterwards fostered by the jealousy of parliaments,

jurists, and Jansenists. The declaration of 1682 is no more than a mere modern refinement of the same doctrine, rude and inchoate at first, afterwards reduced to system and expression. It is to be borne in mind that the Articles of 1682, if they deny the infallibility of the Pope, do not affirm the fallibility of the Roman Church and See. The distinction '*inter sedem, et in eâ sedentem,*' is carefully guarded even by Gallicans. Instinct told them that to deny the infallibility of the Roman See was to deny the infallibility of the Church, and to depart from the whole *praxis* of the Church for the first sixteen centuries. The third period may be said to begin from 1682, in which the denial of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was first enunciated in a formula. It opened the period of definition. The contests between those who maintained the Immaculate Nativity and those who maintained the Immaculate Conception led to a closer and more scientific analysis, from which two things have resulted : first, the elimination of the doctrine of the Immaculate Nativity as inadequate and erroneous; and secondly, the definition of the Immaculate Conception. So, also, the contests between those who maintain the infallibility of the Church, but reject the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, have already resulted in an analysis of the whole subject of the divine certainty of faith, and the divine order by which the faith is preserved and propounded in the world; and from this will likewise follow in due time—whether now or hereafter, it is not for us to say—two consequences: first, the elimination of the doctrine of 1682 as inadequate and erroneous; and

secondly, a definition of the Infallibility of the Church, embodied in its immemorial and universal *praxis*, of which the stability of the faith of Peter, both in his See and in his Successor, is the primary and necessary condition. And as in the history of the Immaculate Conception a series of Pontifical prohibitions rendered less probable and less tenable the opposing doctrine, till the former prevailed and was solemnly defined, so with the infallibility of the Church and its Head.

First. In 1479 the proposition ‘that the Church of the City of Rome may err,’ was condemned in Peter de Osma by the Archbishop of Toledo as heretical; and this condemnation was confirmed in a bull by Sixtus IV.*

Secondly. The Articles of 1682 have been censured by Innocent XI., Alexander VIII., Innocent XII., and Pius VI., in the condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia.

Lastly. The proposition ‘that the authority of the Roman Pontiff over Œcumenical Councils, and of his infallibility in questions of faith, is futile, and has been often refuted,’ was condemned in 1688 by Alexander VIII.

We will first take so much evidence as the narrow limits of this Letter will allow, of the statement that, from the beginning of Christianity down to the times immediately preceding the Council of Constance—that is, for fourteen hundred years—the doctrine of the stability of the faith of Peter in his See and in

* Aguirre, *Defensio Cathedræ S. Petri*, tract. i. disp. xv. 45; and Roskovány, *Romanus Pontifex*, &c., tom. i. 630. Neitria. 1869.

his Successor was in possession, by the immemorial and universal tradition of the Church. From this it follows that they who deny it are innovators; that they who affirm the infallibility of the Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, to be a novelty recently introduced, are, in the form of their argument, fighting in rank with those who affirm the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be an innovation of the Council of Lateran, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity an innovation of the Council of Nicæa.

I will, however, invert the usual order in which the evidence is adduced. We will begin, not with the early centuries, but with the later. Even our opponents tell us that Ultramontaniam, since the Council of Constance, has possessed itself of Christendom. It is undeniable, then, that for the last four hundred years it has pervaded the theology and practice of the Church.

We will therefore trace up the stream towards the fountain. We shall be able thereby to see, before the Council of Constance, what doctrine was in possession; whether any change is afterwards traceable. We shall thereby be able to appreciate the claims of Gallicanism to antiquity, authority, and truth.

In order to put beyond question that, for the last four hundred and fifty years, the belief of the infallibility of the Roman See and Pontiff has been completely in the ascendent, it may be well to call to mind certain facts.

1. First, it is admitted that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff has been taught by the Roman Pontiffs, the Roman theologians, the

Theological Schools of all countries, excepting France, from the Council of Constance,* in 1418, to this day : that is to say, for four centuries and a half it has been the doctrine of all the religious orders, and eminently of the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and of the Society of Jesus; of all Theological Schools, excepting the one before named; and even of almost all universities. Is it credible that all these representatives of the learning and science of the Church should have erred, and all erred alike, in elaborating a novelty unknown to the Church till then?

2. During these four centuries and a half three Œcumenical Councils, of Florence, Lateran, and Trent, have been held, and not so much as a whisper of doubt as to the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was heard in them.

3. During these same centuries, three Œcumenical Councils have touched upon the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and they did so in these words. The Council of Florence in 1439 decreed:—‘ We define, that the Roman Pontiff is Successor of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church, and the Father and Doctor of all Christians ; and to him in Blessed Peter was delivered, by our Lord Jesus Christ,

* The Council of Constance had not the question of infallibility before it. In affirming that a Council was superior to the Pope, ‘ in his quæ pertinent ad fidem,’ it did not declare the Pope to be fallible. And even those words were resisted, not only by Cardinal Zarabella, but by the Cardinals and Ambassadors of France. Moreover, they were the act of only a part of one Obedience, in the midst of disorder and irregularity which would suffice to annul them, even if Martin V. had not carefully excluded them from his confirmation.

the plenary power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church.*

The Council of Lateran, in 1520, condemned as heretical the proposition 'the Roman Pontiff, the Successor of Peter, is not the Vicar of Christ constituted by Christ Himself in Blessed Peter over all the Churches of the whole world.†

The Council of Trent in four places describes the Roman Church as 'Ecclesiarum omnium Mater et Magistra.‡ But the word 'Magistra' signifies the authority of teacher and guide.

Lastly. The Council of Constance itself gives an evidence of the Pontifical authority of the most decisive kind. In the last session of the Council, the Poles, because the Pope would not condemn a certain book, appealed to a future General Council. Martin V., therefore, in a public Consistory on March 10, 1418, condemned all such appeals. Gerson wrote against this condemnation, which runs in these words: 'It is lawful to no one to appeal from the Supreme Judge, namely, the Apostolic See, or the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, or to reverse his judgment in causes of faith, which, as *causæ majores*, are to be referred to him and the Apostolic See.¶ It cannot be unlawful to appeal from a fallible to an infallible Judge. But a General Council is infallible. The Pope, therefore, is not fallible. This proves two things: the one, what was the claim of

* Labbe, Concil. xviii. p. 526. Ed. Ven. 1732.

† Ibid. xix. p. 1052.

‡ Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. De Bapt. 3; Sess. xiv. De Ex. Unct. 3; Sess. xxii. 8; Sess. xxv. cont., De delect. ciborum, &c.

¶ Gersonii Opp. tom. ii. p. 303. Ed. Antwerp. 1706,

the Pontiff in the Council of Constance; the other, how little that Council was swayed by the errors of Gerson.

I. TRADITION FROM THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

But we are told that no one denies the rise of this opinion from the time of the Council of Constance. This, then, is one point of departure; and we will proceed to examine what was the faith of the Church before that date, ascending towards the source.

1. The first and least suspicious witness will be Gerson himself. He says, adulation 'concedes [to the Pope] that he is above law, and that it is no way possible that appeal be made from him, nor that he be called into judgment; nor that obedience be withdrawn from him, except in case of heresy. He alone can make articles of faith; he alone can deal with questions of faith, and the *causæ majores*; he alone, as has just been done, makes definitions, rules, laws, and canons; otherwise all that is defined, decreed, framed, or ordained by others is null and void. Nor can anything ordained by him be in any way whatsoever cancelled or annulled except by him alone; but he is bound by no constitution made by any whomsoever. *If I am not deceived, before the celebration of the holy Council of Constance this tradition had so possessed the minds of many pedants rather than lettered men, that any one who should have dogmatically taught the opposite would have been noted and condemned for heretical pravity.*'* But how should this be

* Gersonii Opp. tom. ii. p. 247. Ed. Ant. 1706.

if the *communis sensus fidelium* were not united against the dogmatiser? What bishop would have allowed or have passed such a sentence against him, unless the whole Episcopate had been united in the contrary principles and instincts? 'This tradition,' as Gerson calls it, could have had no authority, nor even existence as a tradition, if it had not been the immemorial and widespread belief of men. Adulation may make schools and cliques; it cannot make a tradition. The tradition was fatal to the novel opinions of Gerson and his master; and he solaced himself, like all innovators, in aspersing his brethren. Now, if any one can produce evidence to show that in this Gerson was wrong, and that evidence is to be found before his time of the denial of the infallibility of the See and Successor of Peter, let it be produced,* and it will be fairly examined. The infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ is in possession. It is for those who deny it to dislodge it if they can.

I will now take other evidence: and as far as possible from the public acts of Synods or of Episcopates. The few individual witnesses I shall quote will be those whose names have an exceptional weight.

2. When, in 1314, the King of France was endea-

* Theoph. Raynaud, tom. xx. p. 389, Cracov. 1669, sums up the question in these words:—'It were in vain to bring together a number of theologians, since all may be adduced who lived before the Council of Constance. *For this truth* [the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff] *was never called into controversy among Catholics before the time of the Councils of Bâle and Constance.* But all who went before *unanimously* taught that the definitions of Pontiffs, even without a General Council, made matter of faith, and that every judgment of faith belonged ultimately to the Holy See.' See also the whole of section xi.

vouring to compel Clement V. to declare his predecessor Boniface VIII. to be heretical, the French bishops, in an address to the Pope, speak thus: 'It is no question of the heresy of a Pope, *as Pope*, but as *a private person*. For *as Pope he could not be heretical*, but only as a private person: for never was any Pope a heretic as Pope.'*

3. The University of Paris, in 1387, addressed Clement VII., whom they recognised as Pope at Avignon, and by the mouth of the same Peter d'Ailly who afterwards so strangely deviated from truth: 'We unanimously protest, that whatsoever hitherto has been done in this matter by them [the University], and whatsoever in the same, either now or at any other time, we may do or say in their behalf, we humbly submit altogether to the correction and judgment of the Apostolic See and of the Supreme Pontiff who sits in it, saying with blessed Jerome, "This is the Faith, most blessed Father, which we have learned in the Catholic Church; in which, if we have laid down anything less wisely or cautiously than we ought, we ask to be corrected by thee, who holdest the Faith and the See of Peter." For we are not ignorant, but most firmly hold and in no way doubt, that the Holy Apostolic See is that Chair of Peter upon which, as the same Jerome witnesses, the Church is founded. . . . Of which See, in the person of Peter the Apostle sitting in it, was said, "Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." It is to this, then, that the determination of Faith, and the approbation of Catholic Truth, and

* Theolog. Wirceburg. tom. i. p. 373. Paris, 1852.

the condemnation of heretical impiety, above all, belongs.' *

4. The Bishop and Theologians of Paris had censured certain opinions of S. Thomas in 1277. When S. Thomas was canonised, in 1324, Stephen, Bishop of Paris, withdrew the censure, in union with the Dean and Chapter and sixty-three Masters and Bachelors in Theology: in so doing he calls 'the Holy Roman Church the Mother of all the faithful and Teacher of faith and truth, founded on the most firm confession of Peter, Vicar of Christ; to which, as to the universal Rule of Catholic Truth, belongs the approbation of doctrines, the solution of doubts, the determination of what is to be held, and the confutation of errors.' †

In these two passages we have the testimony of the Bishop, Chapter, Theologians, and University of Paris in the century before the Council of Constance.

5. What was at that time taught in Paris was taught in England. Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1349, in the preface to his book 'De Causa Dei,' says: 'I know what I will do; I will commit myself to that ship which can never perish, the ship of Peter. For in it our only Head and Master Christ in safety sat and taught: to teach us mystically that in the boat of Peter, the Church of Rome, the authority and teaching (*magisterium*) of all Christian doctrine should abide. To the judgment, therefore, of so authentic and so great a teacher I submit, and subject fully and

* Inter Gersonii Opp. tom. i. p. 702. Antverp. 1706.

† D'Argentré, Coll. Judic. tom i. p. 1, p. 222. Ed. Paris, 1728.

altogether myself and my writings, now and hereafter.' *

6. Clement VI., in 1351, writing to the Armenian Patriarch, says : ' If thou hast believed, and dost still believe, that the Roman Pontiff alone, when doubts arise concerning the Catholic Faith, can by an authentic determination, to which we must inviolably adhere, make an end of them ; and that whatsoever he, by the authority of the Keys delivered to him by Christ, determines as true, is true and Catholic ; and what he determines to be false and heretical is so to be regarded.' † Clement here plainly requires the Armenians to believe the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff as a truth of revelation.

7. It would be endless to quote from S. Thomas, but these few words will suffice : ' Therefore the Lord said to Peter, whom He made Supreme Pontiff, " I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not, and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren." And of this the reason is, that the faith of the whole Church must be One . . . which cannot so be kept unless questions of faith be determined by him who presides over the whole Church ; so that his sentence be held firmly by the whole Church.' ‡ And again : ' And while in other parts there is either no faith, or it is mingled with many errors, the Church of Peter both is fresh in faith and pure from error : and no wonder, because the Lord said, " I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not." ' §

* Bradwardini de Causa Dei, Præf. Ed. Lond. 1618.

† Baronius, tom. xxv. ad annum 1351, p. 529. Ed. Luc. 1750.

‡ Summa, sec. 2^{da} quæst. i. art. 10. Ed. Ven. 1593.

§ Opuscula vi. In Symbol. Apost. Opp. tom. xvii. p. 70. Ed. Ven.

Now we may, without hesitation, take S. Thomas as the witness of what was taught both by the Dominican Order and by the schools of the Church in the century before the Council of Constance.

8. S. Bonaventure, in like manner, will represent the Franciscan Order: 'Peter, named from the Rock, was by the Lord placed as the foundation of the Church: "Thou art Peter, &c." Rabanus says that all the faithful throughout the world may understand that whosoever separate themselves in any way from the unity of his faith or of his communion can neither be absolved from the bonds of sin, nor can enter the gate of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore the Lord gave to Peter extraordinary powers over all the Apostles in the words, "And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren."'* Again, he says: 'If, in the time of the figurative priest, it was sin to oppose the sentence of the Pontiff, much more in the time of the revealed truth and grace, when it is known that the plenitude of power is given to the Vicar of Christ, is it sin, no way to be tolerated in Faith or morals, to dogmatise contrary to his definition, by approving what he reproves, building up again what he destroys, and defending what he condemns.'†

9. The Council of Lyons in 1274 drew up a form of profession to be made *per modum juramenti* by the Greeks in the following words: 'The Holy Roman Church has supreme and full primacy and principality

* S. Bonav. In Expos. Reg. Fratrum Minorum, cap. i. tom. vii. p. 332. Romæ, 1596.

† Ibid. In Apol. Pauperum, respon. i. cap. i. p. 413.

over the Universal Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges itself to have received from the Lord Himself in Blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, with plenitude of power. And as before all others it is bound to defend the truth, so also if any questions arise concerning the faith, they ought by its judgment to be defined. . . . And to the same all Churches are subject, and to it the prelates of the same render obedience and reverence. But to this [Church] the plenitude of power so belongs that it admits the other Churches to a participation of its care. . . . By mouth and heart we confess that which the Sacred and Holy Roman Church truly holds, and faithfully teaches and preaches.'

The formula, which is inscribed *Sacramentum Græcorum*, runs as follows:—

'I, N., recognise the unity of faith which I have subscribed . . . as the True, Holy, Catholic Faith; I accept it and confess it with heart and mouth; and I promise that I will inviolably preserve the same as the Holy Roman Church holds, faithfully teaches and preaches; and in the same I will always persevere; nor at any time will I depart from it, nor in any way deviate or differ from it.' *

If any one, with these facts and testimonies before him, can continue to affirm that the Articles of 1682 have any foundation in the two centuries before the Council of Constance, or that the doctrine now capriciously and invidiously styled Ultramontane is a novelty, he is bound to bring, what as yet has not been offered, some evidence of his assertion.

* Labbe, Concil. tom. xiv. p. 512, 513. Ed. Ven. 1731.

10. For the twelfth century we have two witnesses, both Saints; one a confessor, the other a martyr, and both our own: S. Thomas of Canterbury, and S. Anselm.

S. Thomas writes to the Bishop of Hereford: 'The fountain of Paradise is one, but divided into many streams, that it may water the whole earth. Who doubts that the Church of Rome is the head of all the Churches, and the fountain of Catholic truth? Who is ignorant that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were entrusted to Peter? Does not the structure of the whole Church rise from the faith and doctrine of Peter? . . . Whosoever he be that waters or plants, God gives increase to none, save to him who has planted in the *faith* of Peter, and rests in his *doctrine*.' Again he says of the Apostolic See: 'From this none but infidels, or heretics, or schismatics withdrew their *faith* and obedience.' *

11. S. Anselm, in dedicating his book on the Holy Trinity to the Pope, writes: 'Forasmuch as the providence of God has chosen your Holiness, to commit to your custody the life and faith of Christians, and the government of His Church, to no other can reference be more rightly made, if so be anything contrary to the Catholic faith arise in the Church, that it may be corrected by his authority; nor to any other can anything which may be written against such errors be more safely submitted, that by his prudence it may be examined.' † Again: 'Let those who

* S. Thomæ Epist. lxxiv. ad Suffraganeos, p. 167; Ep. cxxiv. ad Robertum Heref. p. 277. Ed. Oxon. 1844.

† S. Anselmi de Fide Trin. Dedic. p. 41. Ed. Ben. Paris, 1721.

despise the Christian decrees of the Vicar of Peter, and in him the decrees of Peter and of Christ, seek for other gates of the kingdom of heaven; for certainly they shall not enter in by those, the keys of which the Apostle Peter bears.’*

If Saints and Martyrs do not represent the mind of the Church, where shall we seek it?

12. S. Bernard writes to Pope Innocent: ‘It is right to refer to your Apostleship whatsoever danger and scandal may arise in the kingdom of God; especially those which touch the faith. For I judge it to be fitting that the injuries of the faith should there be repaired, where the faith cannot fail. For this in truth is the prerogative of that See. For to what other was it ever said, “I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not?” Therefore, what follows is required of Peter’s Successor; “and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.”’†

13. In the same century, that is in the year 1149, Anselm, Bishop of Havelburgh, was sent by the Emperor Lothaire to Constantinople. He there held public disputations with Nechites, Archbishop of Nicomedia, on the errors of the Greeks. By the desire of Eugenius III., he afterwards put these disputations in writing. It will be borne in mind that Anselm was German by birth, and therefore a representative of a country remote from Roman influences. He was endeavouring also to win the Greeks from their errors, of which one was the denial of the pre-

* Ibid. Epist. ad Humbertum. Lib. iii. 65, p. 391.

† S. Bernard. ad Innoc. P. Ep. cxc. tom. iv. p. 433. Ed. Paris, 1742.

rogatives of the See of Peter, both in jurisdiction and in faith. Anselm had every inducement to reduce to the narrowest limit the doctrines necessary to reconciliation. As the representative of the Catholic Church, to the separated East he spoke as follows: 'The holy Roman Church, chosen before all others by the Lord, has been endowed and blessed by him with a special privilege; and by a certain prerogative stands pre-eminent, and by a divine right has an excellence before all Churches. For while other Churches at divers times have been possessed by various heretics, and have wavered in the Catholic faith, that [Church], founded and consolidated upon the Rock, has always remained unshaken, and never, by any false and sophistical arguments of heretics, has been drawn away from the simplicity of the faith held by Simon Barjona; because it has always been defended by the shield of divine wisdom, through the grace of the Lord, against deceitful controversies. For it has never been shaken by any terror of emperors, or mighty ones of this world, because by the strength of the Lord, and the shield of a strong patience, it has always been secure against all assaults. Wherefore the Lord, [knowing] that other Churches would be greatly harassed by the inroads of heresy, and that the Roman Church, which He had founded upon the Rock, would never be weakened in the faith, said to Peter, "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not; and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren." As if He had openly said: "Thou who hast received this grace, that while those are shipwrecked in faith,

thou abidest always in faith immovable and constant, confirm and correct those that waver; and as the provider, and doctor, and father, and master, have care and solicitude for all.”* He rightly, therefore, received the privilege of being set over all, who received from God the privilege, before all, of preserving the integrity of faith.’ Again he said: ‘Why do you not rather receive the statutes of the Holy Roman Church, which by God, and from God, and in the next place after God, has obtained the primacy of authority in the Universal Church, which is spread throughout the whole world? For so we read that it was declared concerning it in the first Council of Nicæa by three hundred and eighteen Fathers. For it must be known, and no Catholic can be ignorant of it, that the Holy Roman Church was preferred before others by no decrees of Synods, but that it obtained the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the Gospel, where He said to Blessed Peter, “Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock,”’ &c.† Now this is language which, at the present day, would be called Ultramontane; but Anselm so addresses the Greeks in a perfect consciousness that he spoke the mind of the Catholic Church. And what he spoke, he wrote, as we have seen, by the command of Eugenius III. Not a trace is to be found that these words of Anselm were not a true expression of the immemorial and universal tradition of the Church in his day.

14. The Synod of Quedlinburgh, in Saxony, in 1085,

* D’Achéry, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. 194. Ed. Paris, 1723.

† Ibid.

condemned what was called the Henrician heresy: namely, that not only temporal but spiritual things are subject to emperors and kings. In the Acts of the Synod we read: 'When all were seated according to their order, the decrees of the Holy Fathers concerning the Primacy of the Apostolic See were produced: namely, that it is allowed to none to revise its judgment, and to sit in judgment upon what it has judged; which, by the public profession of the whole Synod, was approved and confirmed.'*

15. In the ninth century, that is in 863, a Council in Rome decreed as follows:—'If anyone shall despise the dogmas, commandments, interdicts, sanctions or decrees, in respect to Catholic faith, ecclesiastical discipline, correction of the faithful, the amendment of sinners, or the prevention of impending or future evils, wholesomely promulgated by him who presides in the Apostolic See, let him be anathema.'†

16. This canon was recognised in the eighth General Council, held at Constantinople in 869; so that the final and irreformable authority of the Roman Pontiff was recognised and declared under pain of deposition for clergy, and of excommunication for the laity until penitent.‡

17. In the eighth century Alcuin writes to the faithful in Lyons: 'Let no Catholic dare to contend against the authority of the Church. And lest he be found to be a schismatic and not a Catholic, let him follow the approved authority of the Holy Roman

* Labbe, Concil. tom. xii. pp. 679, 680. Ed. Ven. 1730.

† Labbe, Concil. tom. x. p. 238. Ed. Ven. 1730.

‡ Labbe, Concil. ibid. p. 633.

Church.’* In the Caroline books—whether they be by Charlemagne or Alcuin—we read of the Roman Church that, as Peter was set over all the Apostles, so Rome is set over all the Churches. ‘For this Church is set over all the rest by no decrees of Synods, but holds its primacy by the authority of the Lord Himself, who said, “Thou art Peter,” &c. . . . Whence it is to be understood that holy and learned men in all parts of the world, shining with the light of teaching and science, not only have not departed from the Holy Roman Church, but also, in time of need, have implored help from it, for the corroboration of the faith; which, as we have already said and proved by examples, all members of the Catholic Church ought, as a rule, to do; so as to seek from it [the Roman Church], next after Christ, help to defend the faith: which [Church], not having spot or wrinkle, both sets its foot upon the monstrous heads of heresy, and confirms the minds of the faithful in the faith.’†

This testimony, by the way, is important for those who believe that Charlemagne imposed on the Roman Pontiff the insertion of the ‘Filioque’ in the Creed.

We have now reached the eighth century of the Church, before the separation of the Greeks, and while as yet they acknowledged the supreme authority, both in jurisdiction and of faith, of the See of Peter. The Greeks acknowledge the second Council of Nicæa as infallible, and in that Synod the letters

* Alcuin, *Opp.* in *Patrologia*, Migne, tom. c. col. 293. Paris, 1857.

† Carol. M. *Opp.* in *Patrologia*, Migne, tom. xcvi. col. 1020, 21. Paris, 1851.

of Hadrian to Tarasius, Bishop of Constantinople, were read and approved. In those letters Hadrian says, 'Whose (Peter's) See shines forth in primacy over the whole Church, and is Head of all the Churches of God. Wherefore the same Blessed Peter the Apostle, governing the Church by the command of the Lord, left nothing uncared for, but held everywhere, and holds, supreme authority (*ἐκράτησε πάντοτε καὶ κρατεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν*).' Hadrian then requires Tarasius to adhere to our 'Apostolic See, which is the Head of all Churches of God, and in profound sincerity of mind and heart to guard the sacred and orthodox form' [of faith]. The whole Synod cried out in acclamation, 'The Holy Synod so believes, so is convinced, so defines.'*

18. The African Bishops, in 646, addressed a Synodical letter to Pope Theodore, which letter was read and approved in the Lateran Council of 649, under Martin I. 'No one can doubt,' they say, 'that there is in the Apostolic See for all Christians a fountain, great and unfailing, abundant in its waters, from which the streams go forth copiously to irrigate the whole Christian world; to which [See], also in honour of Blessed Peter, the decrees of the Fathers gave special veneration in searching out the things of God, which ought by all means to be carefully examined; and, above all, and justly by the Apostolic Head of Bishops, whose care from of old it is, as well to condemn evils as to commend the things which are to be praised. For by the ancient discipline it is ordained that whatsoever be done,

* Labbe, Concil. tom. viii. p. 771, 5. Ed. Ven. 1729.

even in provinces remote and afar off, shall neither be treated of nor accepted, unless it be first brought to the knowledge of your august See, so that a just sentence may be confirmed by its authority, and that the other Churches may thence receive *the original preaching as from its native source, and that the mysteries of saving faith may remain in uncorrupt purity throughout the various regions of the world.*' *

This declaration of the African Synod, being read and approved in the first Council of Lateran, is therefore confirmed by its authority.

19. In the Pastoral of two years ago, I gave the evidence of the Sixth General Council, held at Constantinople in 680, in which the letter of Agatho was received as the voice of Peter. In this letter, addressed to the Emperor, after reciting the dogma of faith, Agatho thus speaks of the Roman See: 'Relying upon the protection [of Peter], this, his Apostolic Church, has never deviated from the way of truth in any way of error whatsoever; and his [Peter's] authority, as that of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Catholic Church of Christ and all the universal Synods always and faithfully have in all things embraced and followed. . . . For this is the rule of the True Faith, which, both in prosperity and adversity, this Apostolic Church of Christ, the Spiritual Mother of your peaceful empire, holds and defends as vital: which Church, by the grace of Almighty God, will never be convicted of erring from the path of apostolic tradition, nor has it ever yielded or been depraved by heretical novelties; but as it received in

* Labbe, Concil. tom. vii. p. 131. Ed. Ven. 1729.

the beginning of the Faith from its Founders, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, *it abides untainted to the end, according to the divine promise of our Lord and Saviour Himself, which in the Holy Gospels He uttered to the Prince of His disciples: Peter, Peter, behold, Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.**

It was to this that the Fathers answered in acclamation: 'Peter hath spoken.'

On this evidence two things are to be observed:

First, that Agatho's declaration of the untainted orthodoxy of the Apostolic See until his day refutes the attempt of those who would fasten heresy on Pope Honorius, his predecessor.

Next, that the Fathers so little distinguished 'inter sedem et in eâ sedentem,' that they identify Agatho and the See as one and the same. They address him *ὡς πρωτοθρόνῳ σοι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν ἐστῶτι.* 'To thee, therefore, as the first See of the Universal Church, we leave what is to be done,' &c.†

20. It may perhaps be said that the language of Anselm of Havelburgh, quoted above, gives no proof of the mind of the Eastern Church. I will therefore add one more testimony, at a period when as yet

* Labbe, Concil. tom. vii. pp. 659, 662. Ed. Ven. 1729.

† Ibid. p. 1110. So S. Jerome: 'Ego Beatitudini tuæ, id est Cathedræ, consocior,' Opp. tom. iv. P. 2, p. 19; and S. Prosper, inter Opp. S. Aug. tom. x. App. p. 176, Paris, 1690: 'Sacrosancta Petri Sedes per universum orbem Papæ Zosimi sic ore loquitur.' S. Peter Damian writes to the Pope: 'Vos Apostolica Sedes, Vos Romana estis Ecclesia.' Opp. tom. iii. p. 221.

the Greeks had not accomplished the schism which endures to this day. This last evidence is contained in the Profession of Faith which Pope Hormisdas, in the year 517, required the Oriental Bishops to sign; and they did sign it. We have, therefore, in an authentic and public act, the response and acceptance, of the East, of the doctrinal authority of the Apostolic See. It runs as follows: ‘The Rule of Faith. The first act of salvation is to keep rightly the rule of faith, and in no way to deviate from the decrees of the Fathers. And inasmuch as the words of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed over, who said, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,” &c. . . . These words are confirmed by their effects, for in the Apostolic See religion has been always preserved without spot.’ Then follows a condemnation of heretics and of all in communion with them. ‘Wherefore we receive and approve all the letters of Pope Leo, and all that he wrote concerning the Christian religion. Therefore, as we have said, following in all things the Apostolic See, and professing all its decrees, I hope to be worthy to be in that one communion with you which the Apostolic See enjoins, in which is the perfect and true solidity of Christian religion: promising also that the names of those who are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, those who are not united in mind to the Apostolic See, shall not be recited in the Holy Mysteries. This, my profession, I have subscribed with my own hand, and presented to thee, Hormisdas, Holy and Venerable Pope of the City of Rome.—XV. Kal. April. Agapito

viro clarissimo Consule.* This Profession of Faith was signed, it is said, by 2,500 bishops. †

Another version of this formula is given by John, Bishop of Constantinople, in a letter to Pope Hormisdas. It runs almost in the same terms, but in two passages it is even more explicit. After the words of our Lord to Peter, it continues: 'These sayings are confirmed by the effects, because in the Apostolic See religion is always kept inviolate;' and afterwards it concludes: 'But if in anything I should be tempted to doubt in my profession, I declare, by my own condemnation, that I myself should be partaker with those whom I have condemned.' ‡

21. From the third Council of Constantinople in the seventh century, which is received by the Greek Church, we will pass to the Council of Chalcedon, one of the four first General Councils received, at least in profession, by Anglicans, in the fifth. This brings us to the period of undivided unity, and therefore, as they admit, of infallibility.

Now it is certain that S. Leo, in the most explicit language, claimed for the See and for the Successor of Peter an indefectible stability in faith. Two years ago I quoted his testimony, which is abundantly sufficient to prove this assertion. I will now add only two short

* Labbe, Concil. tom. v. p. 583. Ed. Ven. 1728.

† We have this on the authority of Rusticus, who wrote about A.D. 546. He says that the faith was confirmed 'per libellos sacerdotum forsan duorum millium et quingentorum, imperante Justino, post schisma Petri Alexandrini et Acacii Constantinopolitani. Rustici S. R. E. Diac. Card. Contra Acephalos. Disp. Galland. Bibl. Max. tom. xii. p. 75.

‡ Labbe, Concil. tom. v. p. 622. Ed. Ven. 1728.

passages. Preaching on the anniversary of his election to the Pontificate, he says: 'Not only the Apostolic, but also the Episcopal dignity of Blessed Peter enters into our solemnity, and he never ceases to preside over his See, and he has always an unfailing fellowship with the Eternal Priest. For that solidity which, when he was made the Rock, he received from Christ the Rock, transmits itself to his heirs.'* Again: 'The solidity of that faith, which is commended in the Prince of the Apostles, is perpetual.'† 'If anything, therefore, is rightly done, or rightly decided by us it is by the work and merits of him whose power lives and whose authority is supreme in his See. . . . For [the faith of Peter] is divinely guarded by such a solidity that neither has heretical pravity ever been able to violate, nor heathen perfidy to overcome it.'‡

It was with this consciousness of his commission and prerogatives that S. Leo sent his Dogmatic Letter to the Council of Chalcedon. He peremptorily forbade, in his letter to the Emperor, that the doctrine of faith should be discussed as if it were doubtful. To the Fathers of the Council he wrote: 'Now I am present by my vicars, and in the declaration of the Catholic Faith I am not absent: so that you cannot be ignorant what we believe by the ancient tradition, you cannot doubt what is our desire; wherefore, most dear brethren, let the audacity of disputing against the divinely inspired Faith be altogether

* Opp. S. Leon.: In Anniv. Assump. Serm. v. 4. Ed. Ballerini, 1753.

† Ibid. Serm. iii. 2.

‡ Ibid. Serm. iii. 3.

rejected, let the vain unbelief of those that err be silenced. Let it not be allowed to any to defend that which it is not allowed to believe. By the letters which we addressed to Bishop Flavian, of blessed memory, it has been most fully and clearly declared what is the pious and sincere confession concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

After the Dogmatic Letter of Leo to Flavian had been read, the bishops exclaimed, 'This is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith of the Apostles. So we all believe; the orthodox so believe. Anathema to those who do not so believe; Peter has spoken by Leo.†

In their letter to S. Leo the Fathers of the Council declare that he has preserved for them the Faith, being set as the interpreter of the voice of Blessed Peter (πασι τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου φωνῆς ἐρμηνεὺς καθιστάμενος); 'whence we also, using you as our leader in what is good and profitable, have manifested to the children of the Church the inheritance of truth.' . . . Of themselves they say that he presided over them as 'the head over the members' (ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν). Finally, they pray him to honour by his sentence their judgment (τίμησον καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὴν κρίσιν).‡ But this judgment, which related to the precedence of Constantinople next after Rome, S. Leo cancelled and annulled. The Legates protested.§ S. Leo writes

* Opp. S. Leon. Epist. cxci. p. 1069. Ed. Ball. 1753.

† Labbe, Concil. tom. iv. p. 1235.

‡ Epist. S. Synod. Chal. ad Leon. P. inter Opp. pp. 1088, 1090.

§ Ep. Marciani Imp. ad Leon. Papam, ibid. p. 1114.

to the Empress Pulcheria: 'The agreement of the bishops, contrary to the rules of the Holy Canons made at Nicæa, the piety of your faith uniting with us, we declare void, and, by the authority of Blessed Peter the Apostle, by a general decree we altogether cancel.'* S. Peter Chrysologus writes to Eutyches, who had asked his judgment on his doctrine: 'In all things I exhort you, honourable brother, that you obediently attend to the things which have been written by the blessed Pope of the City of Rome, because Blessed Peter, who in his own See lives and presides, offers the truth to those that seek it. We therefore, for the love of peace and of faith, cannot hear causes of faith without the consent of the Bishop of the City of Rome.'†

And here we may stay our course. We have reached the period of undivided unity, when all the world looked to the See of Peter as the source of supreme authority in jurisdiction and in faith. The two keys of jurisdiction and of knowledge, intrinsically inseparable, are here visible in the hands of Leo. The two great prerogatives of Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' and 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,' are as explicitly recognised in the Council of Chalcedon as by us at this day. I forbear to quote the testimony of individual Fathers. S. Augustine and S. Optatus would give it in abundance. But I have endeavoured to exhibit the tradition of the Church in its public and authoritative practice. I think it undeniable that throughout all the

* Ad Pulcher. *ibid.* p. 1158; sec. 3.

† Ep. Petri Chrys. ad Eutychen, inter Opp. S. Leonis, *ibid.* p. 779.

ages we have been reviewing there was a constant, universal, and unvarying tradition of the stability of the faith in the See and the Successor of Peter; and this world-wide fact will give us the true interpretation and value of the words of S. Irenæus, 'Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potiozem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam; in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ab Apostolis traditio.'*

If any one shall answer that these evidences do not prove the infallibility of the Pope, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, they will lose their labour.

I adduce them to prove the immemorial and universal practice of the Church in having recourse to the Apostolic See as the last and certain witness and judge of the divine tradition of faith. That they prove this no one will, I think, deny. Even those who imagine that Honorius was a heretic have never ventured to incur the condemnation of Peter de Osma, who affirmed that 'the Church of the City of Rome may err.' Even the Gallicans of 1682 professed to believe the See to be infallible, while they affirmed that he who sat in it was fallible. Thus far, then, we have the line of testimonies running up from the Council of Constance to the fifth century; that is, to the period of the four first General Councils, when as yet the East and West were united to the See and to the Successor of Peter. The thought that either the See or the Successor of Peter could fail in faith is not to be found in those thousand years. With all the events of

* S. Iren. Adv. Hær., lib. iii. 2. sec. 21, note 27. Ed. Ven. 1734.

Honorius fresh* before them, the Fathers of the third Council of Constantinople responded to Agatho's declaration of the inviolate orthodoxy of the See and the Successor of Peter. The East and the West alike united in this. In the Formula of Hormisdas we have even more than this. The Roman Pontiff imposed subscription on the Oriental bishops of a profession of which the inviolate orthodoxy of the See and of the Successor of Peter is the explicit basis; and the Oriental bishops obeyed and subscribed. It will be observed, too, that they did this in faith of the promise made to Peter. Through those thousand years two texts are perpetually present: 'On this rock I will build my Church;' for the stability of the See. 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not;' for the stability of the Successor of Peter. It is to be observed, also, that the evidences adduced are not, with a few exceptions, the words of individual bishops or doctors, however illustrious. They are the decrees or declarations of Synods, of whole Episcopates in Rome, Africa, France, Saxony. They are the acts of General Councils, and, therefore, public documents of the Universal Church. On this evidence it may be affirmed, without hesitation, that for the first fourteen hundred years—that is, till the

* I cannot refrain from adding, that we have positive historical proof that Honorius did not err in faith. We have his two letters, which are perfectly orthodox. In whatsoever sense the words of the Council may be understood, they cannot be understood to accuse Honorius of heresy, with the proof of his orthodoxy before us under his own hand. Gonzalez, *De Infall. Rom. Pontif.*, disp. xv. sect. vi. § 1.

preludes of the great Western schism, and of the Council of Constance—the *praxis Ecclesiæ* is definite and undeniable, and that Gerson was right in saying that any one who had ventured to deny the infallibility of the See and of the Successor of Peter would have been condemned for heresy.

But if for heresy, in what light did the consent of the faithful, and the tradition of the Church, regard the truth denied? The correlative of heresy is faith.

This, then, is what may be regarded as the first period of simple, traditional faith, immemorial and universal, in the stability of the faith of Peter in his See and in his Successor; which, when analysed, is the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

II. TRADITION FROM THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE TO 1682.

We must here close the first period of this sub-

* It is with no little surprise, shared I believe by those who have read the evidence from the fifteenth to the fifth century given in this chapter, that I read in the book 'Janus,' which has caused no little stir in Germany, the following words:—'For thirteen centuries an *incomprehensible silence* on this fundamental article (Papal Infallibility) reigned throughout *the whole Church* and her *literature*. None of the *antient confessions of faith*, no Catechism, none of the Patristic writings composed for the instruction of the people, contain a syllable about the Pope, still less any hint that all certainty of faith and of doctrine depends on him.' 'The Pope and the Council, by Janus,' p. 64.—The reader will judge whether an incomprehensible silence reigned on the perpetual stability or indefectibility of the Faith in the See and Successor of Peter, and whether there be any difference between this and the infallibility of the Pontiff. But these confident assertions may mislead thousands.

ject, which ends with the Council of Constance, and enter upon the second, which reaches from that Council to the Assembly of 1682. In this period, of about two hundred and forty years, the authority of the Roman Pontiff was far more explicitly manifested, by reason of the efforts made to diminish its amplitude. The Councils of Constance and Bâle may be said to have demanded the decree of the Council of Florence. This explicit declaration precludes the distinction between the 'See and him that sits in it.' The Council affirms that the plenitude of all power was given by our Lord not only to Peter, but, *ipsi in Beato Petro*, to his Successor in Peter. This decree is a summing up and declaration of the divine tradition we have hitherto been tracing upwards, century by century, towards its source. The second period may be called the period of contention, in which the authority of the Roman Pontiff has been subjected to a controversial analysis. Many things rendered this inevitable. The revival of the Roman jurisprudence filled the princes and civil powers of Europe with the principles and maxims of ancient Cæsarism.* They aimed at supreme and absolute power over all persons and causes, ecclesiastical and civil. In the Pontiffs they met their only obstacle ; the only antagonist they could not break or bend. The pride of nationality is easily roused, and they roused it as an ally against the power of faith and the authority of Rome.

A still more dangerous auxiliary soon ranged itself on the same side.

* Bottalla, 'The Supreme Authority of the Pope,' p. 157 et seq.

The rise and rivalry of nationalities within the unity of the Catholic Church, which first generated controversies as to the supreme and final authority of the Roman Pontiff, soon led to divisions in the Conclave, and to doubtful elections: At the time of the Council of Constance the Church was distracted by three Obediences and three doubtful Popes.

The Council, from its opening to its fourteenth session, contained only one of the three Obediences. The second Obedience then came in. It was not until the thirty-fifth session that the three Obediences united, and a Pontiff of certain and canonical election presided over it, as S. Leo over the Council of Chalcedon, or S. Agatho over the third Council of Constantinople.

But it was in the fourth and fifth sessions, while as yet only one Obedience was present, that the decrees which represent the novelties of Gerson were proclaimed. They were null from the beginning, from the nullity of the assembly, the irregularity of the voting, as well as the heterodoxy of the matter. They were protested against as soon as read, and let to pass; not only because opposition was vain, but because their passing was, *ipso facto*, void of effect. But into this it is needless to enter. So long as a Gallican remains, the Gallican version of the Council of Constance will be reiterated. It will be remembered how Gerson complained of the condemnation, by Martin V., of those who appealed from the Pope to a General Council. This one Pontifical Act, pub-

lished in the Council itself, ruined the fourth and fifth sessions from their base.

In order to appreciate correctly the real nature of those sessions, we may recall to mind what were the theological opinions taught at that time by Gerson, in Paris. We shall readily see, first, of how little weight is the authority of his name ; and next, how analogous was the course of erroneous opinions in France with that of the opinions which issued in Anglicanism in this country.

The following propositions are a sample of much to be found in his writings:—

‘The decision of the Pope alone, in matters which are of faith, does not as such bind (any one) to believe.’*

‘The decision of the Pope binds the faithful not to dogmatise to the contrary, unless they see that manifest error against faith, and great scandal to the faith, would arise from their silence if they should not oppose themselves. . . . If persecution of their opinions, and punishment should ensue against them, let them know that they are blessed who suffer persecution for justice sake.’†

‘A simple person, without authority, might be so excellently learned in Holy Scripture that more confidence is to be had in his assertion, in a doctrinal case, than in the declaration of the Pope; for the Gospel is to be trusted rather than the Pope.’‡

* Gersonii Opp. Ed. Dupin, Ant. 1706: tom. i. De Exam. Doctr. Consid. 2, p. 9.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Con. 5, p. 11.

Bishops 'in the primitive Church were of the same power as the Pope.' *

'It is ridiculous to say that a mortal man may claim to have power of binding and loosing sin, in heaven and on earth, while he is a son of perdition,' &c. †

'The Roman Church, the head of which is believed to be the Pope may err, and deceive and be deceived, and be in schism and heresy, and fail to exist.' ‡

'It appears that if the Pope be wicked and incorrigible, the King or Emperor of the Romans has to apply the remedy by convoking a Council.' §

'Bishops (oppressed by Popes) may reasonably carry their complaints, not only to the Pope and a General Council, which is the most fitting tribunal, but to orthodox Princes.' ||

'Here is a foundation for the possible case of subtraction or suspension of obedience to any Pope rightly elected.' ¶

These are the first principles of the Anglican schism, which has always justified itself by such writers as Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, Nicholas de Clemangiis, and by their later followers, Dupin, Van Espen, and Febronius.

In quoting the opinions of Gerson, which every Catholic must lament and reject, it would be unjust

* Tom. ii. De modis uniendi, p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 168.

‡ Ibid. p. 163.

§ Ibid. p. 178.

|| Tom. ii. De Statu Eccl. p. 533.

¶ Tom. vi. De Auferib. Papæ, p. 218.

not to bear in mind the circumstances of the times, which forced upon him and others questions altogether new. Confidence in the supreme office of the See and Successor of Peter, in matter of faith, had been rudely shaken by the disputed election of two and of three claimants to that supreme power. Though it was not logical, it was only too natural that the doubts should spread from the election to the office, and that the contending Obediences should endeavour not only to prevail over their opponents, but to protect, as they thought, the authority of the Church and the integrity of the Faith from dangers inseparable from the co-existence of two and three claimants to the supreme office of Judge in doctrinal causes. A good and a prudent motive can be supposed for this error. In denying the infallibility of the Pontiff, and in affirming the infallibility of Councils, Gerson no doubt thought to provide a broader and surer basis for the faith of Christendom. So much it is but justice to suppose. Nevertheless, his opinions are erroneous, even to the verge of heresy, and have scattered the seeds of a wide growth of heretical errors from that day to this. It is no wonder that Protestants have claimed Gerson as a forerunner and an authority. Villiers, a Protestant writer, in his book called 'Influence of the Reformation of Luther,' says that Gerson and Richer were the leaders of the religious revolution in France.*

In the last analysis, the great Western schism is no more than the rivalry and contention of Na-

* Bouix, *De Papa et de Concil.* Œcum. tom. i. 493. Paris, 1869.

tionalties. What individuals have never been able to effect against the unity and authority of the Church, nations have endeavoured to do. And no more luminous evidence can be found of the divine stability of the Church, both in its unity and its authority, than that it should have been able not only to heal the great Western schism, but for four hundred years to preserve both unity and authority as it is at this day, and that, too, in the period of the most vigorous and vehement development of modern nationalities.

But to return to the thread of our subject. It is certain that the opinions of Gerson soon lost their hold, even in the Sorbonne. The Council of Florence eighteen years afterwards, that is in 1439, effaced the traces of the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constance by its well-known decree, which, if it does not explicitly affirm the infallibility of the See and of the Successor of Peter, implicitly and logically contains it. That well-known decree is no more than the final expression of the immemorial and universal practice and faith of the Church by the infallible authority of a General Council.

Forty years later, that is in 1479, the condemnation of Peter de Osma by Sixtus IV. affirms the contrary of his error to be of faith, namely, 'that the Church of the City of Rome cannot err.'

In 1544 the Faculty of Louvain published two-and-thirty Articles against the errors of Luther. The twenty-first runs thus:—

'It is to be held by firm faith that there is one true and Catholic Church on earth, and that visible,

which was founded by the Apostles and endures to our time, retaining and holding whatsoever the Chair of Peter hath delivered, does deliver, or shall hereafter deliver, in faith and religion; upon which [Chair, the Church] is so built by Christ the Bridegroom, that in those things which are of faith it cannot err.'

The 25th Article runs:—

'Those things are to be held by a firm faith which are declared not only by express Scripture, but also which we have received to be believed by the tradition of the Catholic Church, and which have been defined in matters of faith and morals by the Chair of Peter, and by General Councils legitimately congregated.'*

The great Western schism, and the erroneous opinions in the Council of Constance, had their legitimate development in the Protestant Reformation: and this, by separating part of Germany and England from the Church, cleansed its unity of an infection which threatened not unity alone, but the foundations of faith. We are often told, with much pretension of wise and benevolent counsel, not to draw too tight the conditions of communion, or to define too precisely the doctrines of faith. No doubt this advice was given at Constance, Florence, and Trent. But the Catholic Church knows no policy but truth; and its unity is extended, not by comprehension of error, but by the expulsion of all that is at variance with the health and life of faith. We shall see hereafter how this plea was put forward in

* Roskovány, De Rom. Pontif. tom. ii. 35.

1682, as it is at this moment, on the eve of the first Council of the Vatican.

In 1579 the clergy of France, assembled at Melun, decreed as follows:—

‘Bishops and their vicars, to whom this charge is committed, shall take care that in all synods, diocesan and provincial, all and every one, both clerics and laymen, shall embrace, and with open profession pronounce that faith which the Holy Roman Church, the teacher, pillar, and ground of the truth, professes and cherishes. For with this Church, by reason of its [principality] primacy, it is necessary that all Churches agree.’ *

In 1625 a document was drawn up by the Assembly under the title of ‘Address of the Assembly-General of the Clergy of France to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom.’ It was never published, for some reason not clearly known. It is given in the ‘Procès-Verbaux,’ printed by order of the Assembly in 1762–5. In the 157th article it runs as follows:— ‘The bishops are exhorted to honour the Holy Apostolic See, and the Church of Rome, the Mother of the Churches, founded in the infallible promise of God, in the blood of the Apostles and Martyrs. . . . They will respect also our Holy Father the Pope, visible Head of the Church universal, Vicar of God on earth, Bishop of Bishops and Patriarch of Patriarchs, in a word, the Successor of S. Peter ; with whom the Apostolate and the Episcopate have had their beginning, and on whom Jesus Christ has founded the

* Roskovány, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 105.

Church, in entrusting to him the keys of heaven, *together with infallibility of the faith*, which we have seen endure miraculously immovable in his successors unto this day.' *

We now come to a period in which the Church in France, with the Court and Government, gave its testimony to the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, by a series of public acts which admit of no reply. From the year 1651 to 1681 the Jansenistic controversy was at its height.

In 1651, eighty-five bishops of France wrote to Innocent X., praying that the five propositions of Jansenius might be judged by the Apostolic See. They say : 'It is the solemn custom of the Church to refer the greater causes to the Holy See, which custom the never-failing faith of Peter demands in his right that we should perpetually observe. In obedience, therefore, to this most just law, we have determined to write to your Holiness on a subject of the greatest gravity in matter of religion.' At the end of the letter they add : 'Your Holiness has lately known how much the authority of the Apostolic See avails in the condemnation of the error in respect to the double head of the Church ; "straightway the tempest was calmed, and at the voice and command of Christ the winds and the sea obeyed." ' †

After the condemnation of Jansenius by Innocent X. on June 9, 1653, the bishops of France again wrote, on July 15 : 'In which affair,' they said, 'this is worthy of observation, that as, on the relation

* Roskovány, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 175.

† *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 180.

of the bishops of Africa, Innocent the First condemned of old the Pelagian heresy, so, on the consultation of the bishops of France, Innocent the Tenth proscribed by his authority a heresy directly opposite to the Pelagian. For the Catholic Church of that ancient time, sustained only by the communion and authority of the See of Peter, which shines forth in the decretal letter of Innocent to the Africans, followed by another letter from Zosimus to the bishops of all the world, subscribed without delay the condemnation of the Pelagian heresy. For it clearly saw, not only from the promise of Christ our Lord made to Peter, but also from the acts of the earlier Pontiffs, and from the anathemas launched just before by Damasus against Apollinaris and Macedonius, while as yet they were not condemned by any synod, that judgments for the confirmation of the rule of faith made by the Pontiffs, when consulted by bishops, rest upon a divine and supreme authority throughout the world; to which all Christians are in duty bound to render the obedience of the mind.' *

It is here to be observed that the condemnation of Pelagianism by Innocent I. without any General Council has always been received as infallible ; and next, that the French bishops here declare the 'obedience of the mind,' that is, interior assent, and not only obsequious silence, to be required of all Christians.

On September 2, 1656, the bishops wrote to Alexander VII. almost in the same words. They call the letter of Zosimus 'a peremptory decree,' and

* Ibid. p. 190.

quote S. Augustine's well-known words: 'Finita est causa rescriptis Apostolicis,' &c. *

In the year 1660 the bishops wrote again, if possible, in stronger language. They declare: 'In thee, as in the Successor of Peter, is firmly seated the strength of us all.' †

Lastly, in the encyclical letter of the assembly of the clergy, on October 2, 1665, they declare: 'The circular letter which the General Assembly of the clergy of France wrote to all the bishops of the kingdom on the 15th of July 1653 shows that the submission which we have been used to render to the Holy Father is an inheritance of the bishops of France, who, in a synod held under Charlemagne and Pepin, made a solemn declaration of their will to preserve their unity with the Roman Church, and to be subject to S. Peter and his Successors to the end of their life.' ‡ They add, that all the Churches of France were in a perfect will to follow all that the Pontiff should order in matter of faith; and add: 'This is the solid point of our glory, which renders our faith invincible, and our authority infallible, so long as we hold the one and the other inseparably united to the centre of religion, by binding ourselves to the See of S. Peter,' &c.

We have here six solemn acts of the French bishops and assemblies, recognising in the most explicit terms the stability of the faith of the See and

* D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, tom. iii. p. 2, p. 280. Paris, 1736.

† Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronius Vindicatus*, diss. v. cap. 2, p. 242. Rome, 1843.

‡ D'Argentré, *Coll. Jud.*, tom. iii. p. 2, p. 312.

of the Successor of Peter. It may be said with truth, that the memory of Gerson and of the old Sorbonne was by this time simply effaced from the Church of France. The condemnation of Jansenius rested, and rests to this day, upon the peremptory and irreformable decree of Innocent X. The bishops of France, on March 28, 1654, wrote to the Pontiff on the subject of the Jansenist evasion as to the question of fact respecting the propositions. They declared that the Jansenists were endeavouring 'to take away a part of the ancient deposit of faith, the custody of which was entrusted to the See of Peter by Christ, by dishonestly drawing aside the majesty of the Apostolic Decree, to the determination of fictitious controversies.'* It is clear that the bishops here recognised the supreme and plenary authority of the Pontiff in all its amplitude of faith, morals, and dogmatic facts.

This was at that time the doctrine of France. In a meeting of the leading Jansenists, held in the Faubourg St. Jacques, on the publication of the Bull of Innocent X., Pascal suggested that he had heard it said that the Pope is not infallible. Arnauld immediately answered, that if they should pursue that line of defence 'they would *give good reason to their opponents to treat them as heretics.*' †

This part of the subject, then, may be summed up in a quotation from Peter de Marca. The Jesuits, in their College in Paris, had maintained in 1661 a thesis affirming the infallibility of the Pope in faith, morals, and dogmatic facts. The Jansenists endeavoured to

* Ibid. p. 825.

† Bouix, De Papa, &c., p. 564.

stir up the government to censure it. Peter de Marca, just then translated from the Archbishopric of Toulouse to Paris, declared that the opinion which affirms the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, is 'the general and received opinion, approved by the Church of Rome and by the schools of Christendom.' He adds: 'This opinion is the only one which is taught and embraced in Italy, Spain, and the other provinces of Christendom;' and that 'the opinion which is called the opinion of the Doctors of Paris is placed in the rank of those which are only *tolerated*.'* This was before 1682 and the Pontifical condemnation of the Four Articles. Again, he says: 'Finally, it would be to open the door to a great schism to endeavour to overturn these theses, so long as they are understood in accordance with the common opinion; because not only such an opposition tends to ruin openly the constitutions published against Jansenius, but even to dispute publicly and with authority against the power of the Popes as infallible Judges, when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in matter of faith, which is conceded to them by the consent of all the Universities, except the ancient Sorbonne.' In the same document he goes on to use the words quoted in the Pastoral of 1867: 'The great majority of the doctors [in France], not only in theology, but also in law, follow the common opinion, which has foundations very hard to destroy, as has been already said, and *they laugh at the opinion of the Old Sorbonne*.'†

* Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronius Vindicatus*, dissert. v. cap. 2, s. 5, Notes.

† *Ibid.* note 5.

I hope that I have sufficiently justified the statement made in 1867, that the Gallican opinions have no warrant in the ancient traditions of the illustrious Church of France.

III. FIRST FORMAL ENUNCIATION OF GALLICANISM.

We must now enter upon a less pleasing part of our subject, the revival of the opinions of the 'Old Sorbonne,' and their fabrication into the Articles of 1682.

It would be out of place to recite the details of the contest which arose from the thesis in the College of the Jesuits. The Jansenists attacked the infallibility of the Pope, because they were condemned by two Pontifical constitutions. They had influence enough with the Government to persuade the ministers of Louis XIV. that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope was dangerous to the Regale, and even to the Crown of France. The Government and the Parliament prohibited the theses. The Sorbonne resisted the dictation of Government in theology. The Parliament insisted on its obedience, and commanded the Faculty to register its decrees respecting the infallibility of the Pope. Out of this arose a conflict which required seventeen decrees of Parliament to reduce the Sorbonne to obedience. Finally, the expedient of the Assembly of 1682 was decided on as a means of giving a doctrinal and authoritative character to the theology of the Court and Parliament. The history of this policy of Colbert and his colleagues shall be

given from the work of M. Gérin, Judge of the Civil Tribunal of the Seine, who has in this year published a number of documents hitherto unknown, and conclusive in proof, in behalf of the Sorbonne and against the Government.

The French writer already named has publicly censured me for saying, in the Pastoral addressed to you two years ago, that the Four Articles of 1682 are a 'Royal Theology;' and that in the assembly by which they were passed, the Archbishop of Cambrai opposed them. I think it due to you, reverend brethren, as well as to myself, both to repeat these statements and to prove them.

This writer, signing himself the Abbé St. Pol, thought to overturn my statement by quoting a passage from the Arrêt du Parlement, in which it is said that the Articles were passed unanimously (unanimement). Who ever doubted that the Parliament would say so, and did say so? But with what truth it was said, we shall now see. The Abbé St. Pol admits that the Archbishop of Cambrai resisted until convinced. The Archbishop resisted until he obtained an assurance that the Articles should not be imposed by authority on the Theological Schools of France; which assurance was, nevertheless, immediately violated by an order of the King.*

We have it, also, upon the evidence of the Pro-

* Gérin, *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682*, p. 201. Paris, Lecoffre, 1869. But I need say no more on the fidelity of the Archbishop of Cambrai. His courageous successor, in a noble address to his clergy on the 10th of September last, has abundantly proved the truth of my statement in 1867.

cureur-Général De Harlay, one of the chief managers of this whole transaction, that 'the majority' of that Assembly 'would with all their heart have changed their mind the day after if they had been allowed to do so.' * This evidence is beyond all refutation and all suspicion. It occurs in a private letter to Colbert, hitherto unpublished, and henceforward never to be forgotten. But I shall have occasion to return upon this document later.

In M. Gérin's volume incontestable proofs of that date are to be found in the letters, memorials, and private documents of Colbert, the Archbishop De Harlay, and the Procureur-Général, to establish beyond all controversy (1) that the Assembly of 1682 was neither Synod nor Council of the Church of France, nor even a representative assembly of the French clergy; but an assembly of Archbishops, Bishops, and others nominated by the King, or elected under every kind of pressure and influence of the Court, in the midst of strong and public protests by such men as the Cardinal Archbishop of Aix and the Vicar-General of Toulouse. As a sample out of many, the following will suffice. Colbert wrote to the Bishop of Avanches: 'Sir, the King has judged that you will be able to serve him more usefully than any other . . . in the assembly formed of the clergy. His Majesty commands me to write to you, to say that he has made choice of you,' &c. Bossuet writes to De Rancé: 'The assembly is going to be held. It is willed that I should be of it.' Fleury writes: 'The King willed that the Bishop of Meaux should be of

* Ibid. p. 389.

it.' In the same terms Colbert wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen. In the same way the elections were forced at Toulouse, Narbonne, and Aix, indeed in every place; so that Daniel de Cosnac says: 'Cette manière de députation ne me paraissait pas trop glorieuse.' To give any idea of the complete nullity of these pretended elections, it would be necessary to transcribe the third chapter of M. Gérin's work.

But (2) another fact of much greater importance both to the unity of theological truth, and of the illustrious Church in France, is this—that the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, together with the other Theological Faculties in Paris, not only steadfastly and courageously resisted the Four Articles, but it may be truly said that they never received them. The shadow of acceptance which was wrung from a certain number by acts of intimidation and violence on the part of the King, the Court, and the Parliament, is abundant proof that the Four Articles were never accepted by the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne.* The importance of this is great and manifold. It completes the rejection of the Four Articles by every great Theological School. It clears the great name of the Sorbonne of a shadow which I had hitherto feared must rest upon it; and lastly, it clears the Church in France from participation in an event which must always grieve those who revere and love its noble Catholic traditions.

* This was notorious:—

'La Sorbonne défend la foi,

Et le clergé l'édit du roi.'—*Chansons du temps.*

I will endeavour, as briefly as I can, to give the substance of M. Gérin's evidence.

The Edict of March 20th ordered that the Four Articles should be registered in all the Universities and Faculties of Theology, and taught by their professors.

The Faculties of Théology in Paris were composed of 753 doctors. The houses were those of the Sorbonne, Navarre, the Cholets, St. Sulpice, several religious orders, and others.

Of these, Fleury tells us that the regulars, to a man, maintained the infallibility of the Pontiff; that the congregations of secular priests were of the same opinion.

We have before us a secret report, drawn up for Colbert by some doctors, partisans of the Court, in which they arrange in two classes, *Pour Rome* and *Contre Rome*, the theologians of the Faculties in Paris.

Of the Sorbonne they say: 'Except six or seven, *the whole house of the Sorbonne is educated in opinions contrary to the declaration.* The professors, except the syndic, are so greatly opposed to it, that even those who are *paid by the King* are not willing to teach any one of the propositions which were presented to his Majesty in 1665; although, in the Colleges of the Sorbonne and Navarre, there are chairs founded to teach controversy. The number living in the College of the Sorbonne is very considerable. *They are all united in Ultramontane opinions except four or five.* All the professors, even the royal, except the syndic of the Faculty, are of the same maxims.' *

* Gérin, p. 343.

Of the House of Navarre, every professor, except one, was Antigallican.

St. Sulpice, the Missions Étrangères, and St. Nicholas du Chardonnet.—That ‘those who have given an opinion in this matter (of the Four Articles) are of the opinion of the Sorbonne.’ And of St. Sulpice it was said that it was the seminary of the whole clergy of the kingdom, and that there were many houses which looked upon it as the parent house.* Of St. Sulpice, in 1665 it was declared that the whole body was extreme for the authority of the Pope.

The Carmelites, Augustinians, and Franciscans were all Ultramontane.

Such were the men whom Louis XIV. commanded to register and to teach the Four Articles.

The first President de Novion, the Procureur-Général de Harlay, and six councillors, were charged to carry this declaration of the Edict to the Sorbonne on the 1st of May 1682. Three hundred doctors were present. The dean by seniority, Betille, was enfeebled with age. When the registration of the Edict was demanded, the Faculty desired time and deliberation. But Betille answered, ‘*Gratias agimus amplissimas*,’ and ‘*Facultas pollicetur obsequium* ;’ on which the deputation withdrew, and Betille with them. The three hundred remained, expecting their return, and demanding a deliberation; but the absence of the dean rendered it informal. They then separated. Some days after, the Procureur-Général demanded the registration of the Edict. The Faculty answered that they could give no answer before the 1st of June.

* Ibid. p. 345.

The king, therefore, on the 10th of May, wrote to the Syndic, saying, 'that he heard that "quelques docteurs," certain doctors, were disposed to discuss the Edict;' and added: 'It is my will that if any one betakes himself to do this, you stop him, by declaring to him the order which you have received from me in this present letter.'*

Some advised a second deputation of the Parliament. But Colbert writes to the Procureur De Harlay that he was afraid of two things: the one, 'to let so much authority be seen;' the other, '*of letting it become known to the Court of Rome that the opinions of the Faculty on the subject of the Declaration of the Clergy are not in conformity with the contents of that Declaration.*'†

The 1st of June passed without any new order for the registration of the Edict. The opposition had become much more vivid. Colbert wrote to De Harlay, telling him that 'the king had received a letter, saying, that "all was lost;" that the king was thinking of expelling MM. Masure, Desperier, and Blanger, who appeared to have a chief part in the affair; but that it would be at variance with his principle, of avoiding as much as possible the appearance of any opposition on the part of the Faculty, or the using of authority on the part of his Majesty.'‡ De Harlay, in answer, addressed to Colbert a document, dated June 2, under the title of 'Projet de réglemeut pour la tenue des Assemblées de Sorbonne.' After giving his opinion that it was wiser

* Ibid. p. 351.

† Ibid. p. 352.

‡ Ibid. p. 354.

not to send the Parliament a second time to the Faculty, and not to exhibit a great manifestation of authority, he insists that public opinion must be managed, and an appearance of liberty must be left to the Sorbonne. He then goes on in the following: 'It is not altogether without pretext to think it strange that the Faculty should complain of the form of the king's Edict, and of the new submission, and of the Chancellor of the Church of Paris, and finally of the obligation to teach a doctrine, when declared by an assembly of the clergy, *of whom the greater part would change with all their heart to-morrow, if they were allowed to do so.* But, after all, no one was wanting in respect to the Edict of the King,' &c.*

On the 16th of June, at six in the morning, an usher brought an order of the Parliament, forbidding the Faculty to assemble, or to deliberate, and commanding a certain number to appear in the Parliament, at the bar of the ushers, at seven o'clock. When they arrived, the First President addressed them, calling them a cabal, unworthy of confidence and of the marks of esteem with which they had been honoured.

The Edict, the Declaration of the Clergy, was then registered by command.

On that same day De Harlay wrote to the Chancellor Le Tellier the following letter, which will for ever destroy the illusion that the Four Articles were the free and voluntary expression of the opinion of the Church of France in the seventeenth century. It runs as follows:—

* Ibid. p. 355.

16th June, 1682.

MY LORD,

After avoiding, as far as depended upon my care, to employ with ostentation the authority which it pleased the king to give us *to bring the Faculty of Theology to obedience*, in the hope I had that the doctors, who are in very great number, very learned and well intentioned, would prevail over the contrary party; nevertheless, the way in which their deliberations yesterday began, and the assurance we received that *the evil party would prevail to-day by about fifteen voices* (as you have without doubt been informed), having made me change my opinion, I therefore thought no more of anything but executing the order of the king, which M. de Seignelay brought us yesterday. You will see, my Lord, by the Arrêt of which I send you a copy, as well as by the address which M. the first President made to the doctors who came to the Parliament, the manner in which we proceeded; with much regret on my part, and with equal pain that I am obliged to have a hand in these affairs, *we applied remedies almost as disastrous as the evil*, and because we are still exposed to many disagreeable consequences.*

He then details the reforms necessary to make the Sorbonne 'serviceable to the king,' which consists simply in expelling the Ultramontanes, of whom eight were commanded to depart that same day, or the day following; and further, in stopping the salaries of those who could not produce a certificate of having taught the Four Articles. We find a memorandum, dated 11th August 1685.† 'The professors of the Sorbonne went to the Royal treasury to demand their payment, according to custom. Three were paid. For the three others, they were told that, as they had not satisfied the order of the king, which

* Gérin, p. 359.

† Ibid. p. 375.

obliged them to teach the Propositions of the Clergy, they would not be paid until they had given satisfaction.' *

So resolute, unanimous, and constant was the Sorbonne in its opposition to the Four Articles, that the Advocate-General Talon, on June 22, 1685, wrote to the Secretary of State, that 'his Majesty knew better than any one how important it is to stop the progress which the cabals and evil *doctrines of the College of the Sorbonne* were making in the Faculty of Theology.' He adds that there was only one Professor, 'qui enseigne nos maximes.'† 'The evil doctrine of the College of the Sorbonne' is that which M. l'Abbé St. Pol, Chanoine Honoraire, calls at this day 'l'ultra-Catholicisme en Angleterre.'

I will now add only two more quotations.

In 1760 the Abbé Chauvelin, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, deadly enemy of the Jesuits and of the bishops who defended them, reporter of the Procès against the Society of Jesus, published,

* Ibid. p. 376.

† How deeply the national spirit had pervaded the minds and language of men at that time, appears from the constant use of such phrases as, 'la doctrine française,' 'les opinions françaises,' 'nos maximes.' We find also Massillon writing, 'comme évêque français.' The words grate strangely on the ears of those to whom the Church of God is more than nation, country, and kindred. I cannot refrain from quoting the noble and delicate words of the Archbishop of Cambrai to his clergy in synod on September 10th last:—'There is no nation that may claim the privilege of having, in the bosom of the Catholic Church, its theology apart, and its peculiar doctrines, which a kind of prescription gives it the right to preserve for ever. Understood in this way, these national doctrines would be evidently incompatible with Catholic unity; and they would bring on in time, and by the force of events, the divisions which consummate under our eyes the final ruin of Protestantism.'

without name, the famous work, 'La Tradition des Faits.' In it we read a summary of all I have endeavoured to detail.

'When the attempt was made to oblige all ecclesiastics to profess the (maximes de France) opinions of France, what difficulties were there not to be encountered! It was necessary to *wrest* an assent from many of them; others opposed obstacles which all the authority of Parliament had great difficulty in overcoming. There was need of all the zeal, and all the lights of certain prelates, and certain doctors attached to the true opinions, to reclaim *the great number of Ultramontanes* who were found among the clergy of France. There may be counted seventeen orders which Parliament was obliged to make, to *force* the Faculty of Theology to register the regulations of 1665, and the doctors to conform to them. The learned prelates who drew up the celebrated Declaration of 1682 met with no less contradiction in getting it adopted. *The ecclesiastics never ceased to rise against it, until the Parliament employed its authority to constrain them.* When the Parliament endeavoured to enforce the registration of the Edict of 1682 by the Faculties, the pretexts and the subterfuges to avoid it multiplied without end. The University and the Faculty of Law submitted without any difficulty. *But it was necessary to come to the exercise of authority, to bring the Faculty of Theology to obedience.**

We seem rather to be reading the history of the Anglican Reformation than of the glorious Church of France.

* Gérin, p. 389.

One more quotation shall be the last. In the Session of the Assembly on the 24th November, 1682, the Promotor Chéron, after saying that Louis XIV. surpassed David in gentleness, Solomon in wisdom, Constantine in religion, Alexander in courage, all the Cæsars and all kings on earth in power, applied to him this Byzantine text; which I do not translate, but leave as I find it. 'In exercitu plus quam rex, in acie plus quam miles, in regno plus quam imperator, in disciplina civili plus quam prætor, in consistorio plus quam judex, in Ecclesia plus quam sacerdos.' *

You will remember that in the former Pastoral I only said that Gallicanism was a Royal Theology, and no part of the Catholic tradition of the glorious Church of France. I here give the first proof of my assertion; and shall be ready, if need be, to add more hereafter.

In the Pastoral on the Centenary I recited the prompt and repeated censures of the acts of the Assembly by Innocent XI., April 11, 1682; Alexander VIII. in 1688 and in 1691; the retraction, by the French Bishops and by the King, of the Acts of 1682; and finally, the condemnation of the insertion of the Four Articles in the Synod of Pistoia by Pius VI., in the Bull 'Auctorem Fidei.' To this, much might be added; but as one Pontifical condemnation is enough for those with whom we are now dealing, I forbear to add more.

Such, then, is the present state and aspect of this question. We have traced it, first, through its first

* Ibid. p. 301.

period of constant, immemorial, universal, and public practice, down to the Council of Constance; secondly, through the period of conflict, and therefore of analysis, from the Council of Constance to the Assembly of 1682; thirdly, from 1682, in the Pontifical Acts by which the opinion adverse to the infallibility of the Successor of Peter, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, has been, if not condemned, at least so discouraged that the opposite opinion may be affirmed to be at least certain, if not *de fide*, though not imposed as of universal obligation. In this stage of the question an Œcumenical Council meets. The question, therefore, is not whether the doctrine be true, which cannot be doubted; or definable, which is not open to doubt: but whether such a definition be opportune, that is, timely and prudent.

Those who maintain that the time is ripe, and that such a definition would be opportune, justify their opinion on the following reasons:—

1. Because the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in matter of faith and morals, is true.

2. Because this truth has been denied.

3. Because this denial has generated extensive doubt as to the truth of this doctrine, which lies at the root of the immemorial and universal practice of the Church, and therefore at the foundation of Christianity in the world.

4. Because this denial, if it arose informally about the time of the Council of Constance, has been revived, and has grown into a formal and public error since the closing of the last General Council.

5. Because, if the next General Council shall pass it over, the error will henceforward appear to be tolerated, or at least left in impunity; and the Pontifical censures of Innocent XI., Alexander VIII., Innocent XII., Pius VI., will appear to be of doubtful effect.

6. Because this denial of the traditional belief of the Church is not a private, literary, and scholastic opinion, but a patent, active, and organised opposition to the prerogatives of the Holy See.

7. Because this erroneous opinion has gravely enfeebled the doctrinal authority of the Church in the mind of a certain number of the faithful; and if passed over in impunity, this ill effect will be still further encouraged.

8. Because this erroneous opinion has at times caused and kept open a theological and practical division among pastors and people, and has given occasion to domestic criticisms, mistrusts, animosities, and alienations.

9. Because these divisions tend to paralyse the action of truth upon the minds of the faithful *ad intra*; and consequently, by giving a false appearance of division and doubt among Catholics, upon the minds of Protestants and others *ad extra*.

10. Because, as the absence of a definition gives occasion for these separations and oppositions of opinion among pastors and people, so, if defined, the doctrine would become a basis and a bond of unity among the faithful.

11. Because, if defined in an Œcumenical Council, the doctrine would be at once received throughout

the world, both by those who believe the infallibility of the Pontiff and by those who believe the infallibility of the Church; and with the same universal joy and unanimity as the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

12. Because the definition of the ordinary means whereby the faith is proposed to the world is required to complete the Treatise '*de Fide Divina*.'

13. Because the same definition is required to complete the Treatise '*de Ecclesia deque dotibus ejus*.'

14. Because it is needed to place the Pontifical Acts during the last three hundred years, both in declaring the truth, as in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and in condemning errors, as in the long series of propositions condemned in Baius, Jansenius, and others, beyond cavil or question; and, still more, to make manifest that the active infallibility of the Church, between Council and Council, is not dormant, suspended, or intermittent; and to exclude the heretical supposition that infallible decrees are left to the exposition and interpretation of a fallible judge.

15. Because the full and final declaration of the divine authority of the Head of the Church is needed to exclude from the minds of pastors and faithful the political influences which have generated Gallicanism, Imperialism, Regalism, and Nationalism, the perennial sources of error, contention, and schism.

For these and for many more reasons, which it is impossible now to detail, many believe that a definition or declaration which would terminate this long

and pernicious question would be opportune, and that it might for ever be set at rest by the condemnation of the propositions following:—

1. That the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs in matter of faith and morals do not oblige the conscience unless they be made in a General Council, or before they obtain, at least, the tacit consent of the Church.

2. That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks in matter of faith and morals, as the Universal Doctor and Teacher of the Church, may err.

They have also a desire, which springs from their fraternal and grateful affection for the illustrious Church of France, the Mother of S. Germanus, from whom England derived the Episcopate, and the Guardian of the Holy See, glorious for a long history of splendid deeds of faith: it is, that the Bishops of France should, in this first Council of the Vatican, stand forth to lead the voices of the Episcopate in asking that the infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ may be declared by a decree of the universal Church.

There was a day in which the great family of S. Dominic rejoiced the whole Catholic world, when, at the feet of Gregory XVI., it laid its petition that the words ‘conceived without original sin’ should be inserted in the Litanies. The suffrage of that illustrious Order closed up the circle of unity among the faithful.

The suffrage of the illustrious Church of France for the closing of a divergence, now become historical, among the pastors and faithful of that great Catholic

people, would give joy to the whole world. They may claim the glory of this act as a prerogative, for a reason like that which has moved brave legions to claim the peril and the glory of leading the last and crowning act of some great warfare at its glorious close.

CHAPTER IV.

TWO EFFECTS OF THE COUNCIL CERTAIN.

WHETHER the first Council of the Vatican will define that the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in matter of faith and morals, is infallible or no, is, and, till the event, must remain a secret with God ; but whatsoever the decision of the Council may be, we shall assuredly know that its decision is infallibly right, and we shall embrace it not only with obedience, but with the interior assent of mind and will.

There are, however, two things which the Council will certainly accomplish. First, it will bring out more visibly than ever the only alternative proposed to the human intellect,—namely, rationalism or faith ; and next, it will show to the civil powers of the Christian world the inevitable future they are now preparing for themselves.

As to the former, it will be more than ever manifest that the basis upon which God has willed that His revelation should rest in the world is, in the natural order, the testimony of the Catholic Church, which, if considered only as a human and historical witness, affords the highest and most certain evidence for the fact and for the contents of the Christian revelation. They who deny the sufficiency of this human and historical evidence ruin the basis

of Christianity; they who, under the pretensions of historical criticism, deny the witness of the Catholic Church to be the *maximum* of evidence, even in a historical sense, likewise ruin the foundation of moral certainty in respect to Christianity altogether. If the historical evidence of the Catholic Church for the stability of the faith in the See and the Successor of Peter be not sufficient to prove, as a fact of history, that the Christian Church has so held and taught, history is altogether a poor and slender foundation for the events and actions of the past. The pretentious historical criticism of these days has prevailed, and will prevail, to undermine the peace and the confidence, and even the faith of some. But the 'City seated on a hill' is still there, high and out of reach. It cannot be hid, and is its own evidence, anterior to its history and independent of it. Its history is to be learned of itself.

The Catholic Church is not only a human and historical witness of its own origin, constitution, and authority; it is also a supernatural and divine witness, which can neither fail nor err. In the natural order of human evidence, it is a sufficient motive to convince a prudent man that Christianity is a divine revelation. This motive of credibility is sufficient for the act of faith in the Church as a divine witness. In the supernatural order, the Church is thereby known to be divine in its foundation, constitution, and endowments. The same evidence which proves Christianity to be a divine revelation proves the Catholic Church to be a part of the faith of Christianity, and to be likewise the incorporation and channel of truth

and grace to the world. The same evidence which proves the Catholic Church to be divinely founded, proves it also to be infallible; and the same evidence which proves the Church to be infallible proves the infallibility of the See and Successor of Peter. I have already said that the evidence for the infallibility of the See and Successor of Peter exceeds in explicitness and extent the evidence for the infallibility of the Church, without reference to its Head and centre. But this *cumulus* of evidence proves that the Church and its Head are the visible and audible witness, sustained and guided by a divine assistance in declaring the revelation of Jesus Christ to the world. It is not, therefore, by criticism on past history, but by acts of faith in the living voice of the Church at this hour, that we can know the faith. It is not by the fallible criticism of the human mind on the dubious, or, if so be, even the authentic writings of uninspired men, but by faith in the divine order of the Christian world, that God wills us to learn the doctrines of revelation. Unless historical criticism lead us into the presence of a Divine Witness, and deliver us over to His teaching, our highest certainties are but human. No historical certainty can be called Science, except only by courtesy. Even Theology, which may be resolved into principles of absolute certainty by way of faith, is not properly a science.* It is time that the pretensions of 'historical science,' and 'scientific historians,' be reduced to their proper sphere and limits. And this the Council will

* Greg. De Valent. tom. i. disp. i. q. 1, p. 3, pag. 22. Ingold. 1592.

do, not by contention or anathema, but by the words, 'it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.'

The other certain result of the Council will be, to make more than ever manifest to the civil powers of the Christian world the inevitable future they are now preparing for themselves.

A member of the Corps Législatif in France, two years ago, announced that, in the Bull of Indiction of the Council, the Holy Father, by omitting to invite the civil governments to take part in it, had proclaimed the separation of Church and State.

A moment's thought will be enough to explain why no civil government was invited to attend. What government, at this day, professes to be Catholic? How should any government which does not even claim to be Catholic be invited? What country in Europe, at this day, recognises the unity and authority of the Catholic Church as a part of its public laws? What country has not, by royal edicts, or legislative enactments, or revolutionary changes, abolished the legal status of the Catholic Church within its territory? On what plea, then, could they be invited? As governments or nations, they have, by their own act, withdrawn themselves from the unity of the Church. As moral or legal persons, they are Catholic no longer. The faithful, indeed, among their subjects will be represented in the Council by their pastors; and their pastors are not only invited, but obliged to be present. If any separation has taken place, it is because the civil powers have separated themselves from the Church. They have created the fact, the Holy See has only recognised it. The gravity of the fact is not

to be denied. It is strange that, with the immutability of the Church, and the 'progress,' as it is vaunted, of society before their eyes, men should charge upon the Church the responsibility of breaking its relations with society. The Church at one and the same time is accused of immobility and of change. It is not the Church which has departed from unity, science, liberty; but society which has departed from Christianity and from faith. It is said: 'If Christian unity be destroyed, if science have separated from faith, if liberty choose to reign without religion, a terrible share of the responsibility for these evils rests upon the men who have represented in the Christian world unity, faith, and religion.' Does this mean, upon the Episcopate, Councils, and Pontiffs? Who, if not these, 'have represented in the Christian world unity, faith, and religion'? Have they, then, misrepresented these things to the world? If so, who shall represent them? and where, then, is the Divine office of the Church? The Pontiffs have been for generations lifting up their voice in vain to warn the governments of Christendom of the peril of breaking the bonds which unite civil society to the faith and to the Church. They have maintained inflexibly, and at great suffering and danger, their own temporal dominion, not only for the spiritual independence of the Church, but for the consecration of civil society. But the governments of the Christian world would not listen; and now a General Council meets, and the place where, as at the Lateran, at Florence, and at Trent, they would have sat, is empty. The tendency of civil society everywhere is to depart further and further from the

Church. Progress in these days means to advance along the line of departure from the old Christian order of the world. The civil society of Christendom is the offspring of the Christian family, and the foundation of the Christian family is the sacrament of matrimony. From this spring domestic and public morals. Most governments of Europe have ceased to recognise in marriage anything beyond the civil contract, and, by legalising divorce, have broken up the perpetuity of even that natural contract. With this will surely perish the morality of society and of homes. A settlement in the foundations may be slow in sinking, but it brings all down at last. The civil and political society of Europe is steadily returning to the mere natural order. The next step in de-Christianising the political life of nations is to establish national education without Christianity. This is systematically aimed at where-soever the Revolution has its way. This may, before long, be attempted among ourselves. It is already in operation elsewhere. The Church must then form its own schools; and the civil power will first refuse its aid, and soon its permission, that parents should educate their offspring except in State universities and State schools. The period and policy of Julian is returning. All this bodes ill for the Church; but worse for the State. The depression of the moral order of right and truth is the elevation of the material order of coercion and of force. The civil powers of the world do not choose this course; they only advance in it. There is behind them a power invisible, which urges them onward in their estrangements from the Church; and that unseen power is at work

everywhere. It is one, universal, invisible, but not holy; the true natural and implacable enemy of the One, Visible, Universal Church. The anti-Christian societies are one in aim and operation, even if they be not one in conscious alliance. And the governments of the world, some consciously, others unconsciously, disbelieving the existence of such societies, and therefore all the more surely under their influence, are being impelled towards a precipice over which monarchies and law and the civil order of the Christian society of men will go together. It is the policy of the secret societies to engage governments in quarrels with Rome. The breach is made, and the Revolution enters. The Catholic society of Europe has been weakened, and wounded, it may be, unto death. The Catholic Church now stands alone, as in the beginning, in its divine isolation and power. 'Et nunc, reges, intelligite; erudimini, qui judicatis terram.' There is an abyss before you, into which thrones and laws and rights and liberties may sink together. You have to choose between the Revolution and the Church of God. As you choose, so will your lot be. The General Council gives to the world one more witness for the truths, laws, and sanctities which include all that is pure, noble, just, venerable upon earth. It will be an evil day for any State in Europe if it engage in conflict with the Church of God. No weapon formed against it ever yet has prospered. The governments of Europe have been for the last year agitated and uncertain; the attitude of France is wise and deliberate, worthy of a great people with the traditions of Catholic

history at its back. The attitude of other great powers is also hitherto dignified and serious, proportionate to great responsibilities. Lesser potentates and their counsellors may circulate notes and resolve questions, and furnish matter for newspapers; but they are not the men to move mountains.

Whilst I was writing these lines a document has appeared purporting to be the answers of the Theological Faculty of Munich to the questions of the Bavarian Government.*

The questions and the answers are so evidently concerted, if not written by the same hand, and the animus of the document so evidently hostile to the Holy See, and so visibly intended to create embarrassments for the supreme authority of the Church, both in respect to its past acts and also in respect to the future action of the Œcumenical Council, that I cannot pass it over. But in speaking of it I am compelled, for the first time, to break silence on a danger which has for some years been growing in its proportions, and, I fear I must add, in its attitude of menace. The answers of the University of Munich are visibly intended to excite fear and alarm in the civil powers of Europe, and thereby to obstruct the action of the Œcumenical Council if it should judge it to be opportune to define the Infallibility of the Pope. The answers are also intended to create an impression that the theological proofs of the doctrine are inadequate, and its definition beset with uncertainty and obscurity. In a word, the whole correspondence is a transparent effort to obstruct the free-

* *Times*, Sept. 20, 1869.

dom of the Œcumenical Council on the subject of the infallibility of the Pontiff; or, if that doctrine be defined, to instigate the civil governments to assume a hostile attitude towards the Holy See. And this comes in the name of liberty, and from those who tell us that the Council will not be free!

I shall take the liberty, without further words, of dismissing the Bavarian Government from our thoughts. But I must declare, with much regret, that this Munich document appears to me to be seditious.

Facts like these give a certain warrant to the assertions and prophecies of politicians and Protestants. They prove that in the Catholic Church there is a school at variance with the doctrinal teaching of the Holy See in matters which are not of faith. But they do not reveal how small that school is. Its centre would seem to be at Munich; it has, both in France and in England, a small number of adherents. They are active, they correspond, and, for the most part, write anonymously. It would be difficult to describe its tenets, for none of its followers seem to be agreed in all points. Some hold the infallibility of the Pope, and some defend the Temporal Power. Nothing appears to be common to all, except an animus of opposition to the acts of the Holy See in matters outside the faith.

In this country, about a year ago, an attempt was made to render impossible, as it was confidently but vainly thought, the definition of the infallibility of the Pontiff by reviving the monotonous controversy about Pope Honorius. Later we were told of I know not

what combination of exalted personages in France for the same end. It is certain that these symptoms are not sporadic and disconnected, but in mutual understanding and with a common purpose. The anti-Catholic press has eagerly encouraged this school of thought. If a Catholic can be found out of tune with authority by half a note, he is at once extolled for unequalled learning and irrefragable logic. The anti-Catholic journals are at his service, and he vents his opposition to the common opinions of the Church by writing against them anonymously. Sad as this is, it is not formidable. It has effect almost alone upon those who are not Catholic. Upon Catholics its effect is hardly appreciable; on the Theological Schools of the Church it will have little influence; upon the Œcumenical Council it can have none.

I can hardly persuade myself to believe that the University of Munich does not know that the relations between the Pope, even supposed to be infallible, and the civil powers have been long since precisely defined in the same acts which defined the relations between the Church, known to be infallible, and the civil authority. Twelve Synods or Councils, two of them Œcumenical, have long ago laid down these relations of the spiritual and civil powers.* If the Pope were declared to be infallible to-morrow, it would in no way affect those relations.

We may be sure, reverend and dear brethren, that this intellectual disaffection, of which, in these last days, we have had in France a new and mournful example, will have no influence upon either the Œcumenical

* Bellarm. Opuscula. Adv. Barclaium, p. 845, ed. Col. 1617.

Council, or the policy of the Great Powers of Europe. They will not meddle with speculations of theological or historical critics. They know too well that they cannot do in the nineteenth century what was done in the sixteenth and the seventeenth.

The attempt to put a pressure upon the General Council, if it have any effect upon those who are subject to certain Governments, would have no effect but to rouse a just indignation in the Episcopate of the Church throughout the world. They hold their jurisdiction from a higher fountain; and they recognise no superior in their office of Judges of Doctrine save only the Vicar of Jesus Christ. This preliminary meddling has already awakened a sense of profound responsibility and an inflexible resolution to allow no pressure, or influence, or menace, or intrigue to cast so much as a shadow across their fidelity to the Divine Head of the Church and to His Vicar upon earth.

Moreover, we live in days when the 'Regium Placitum' and 'Exequaturs' and 'Arrêts' of Parliament in spiritual things are simply dead. It may have been possible to hinder the promulgation of the Council of Trent: it is impossible to hinder the promulgation of the Council of the Vatican. The very liberty of which men are proud will publish it. Ten thousand presses in all lands will promulgate every act of the Church and of the Pontiff, in the face of all civil powers. Once published, these acts enter the domain of faith and conscience, and no human legislation, no civil authority, can efface them. The two hundred millions of Catholics will

know the decrees of the Vatican Council; and to know them is to obey. The Council will ask no civil enforcement, and it will need no civil aid. The Great Powers of Europe have long declared that the conscience of men is free from civil constraint. They will not stultify their own declarations by attempting to restrain the acts of the Vatican Council. The guardians and defenders of the principles of 1789 ought to rise as one man against all who should so violate the base of the political society in France. What attitude lesser Governments may take is of lesser moment.

May He in whose hands are the destinies of kingdoms and of nations guide the rulers of Christendom by a spirit of wisdom and justice at this crisis of their trial. This Council will assuredly be '*in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum.*' If Christian nations be desolated, then will come the alternatives of anti-Christian socialism, or the Catholic order of the world, purified in the fire and reunited to the centre of stability and justice, from which it is now departing. Those who desire such a future are busy in scattering fears, mistrusts, and falsehoods as to the acts of the Council, and even of the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff. These ignoble tactics have been rebuked with a calm and dignified severity by the bishops of Germany, whose words I had rather use than my own: 'Never will the Œcumenical Council declare a new doctrine which is not contained in the Scriptures, or the Apostolic traditions. When the Church makes a decree in matter of faith, it does not proclaim a new dogma; it only sets in a clearer light an ancient and

primordial truth, and defends it against new errors.' 'In a word, the Œcumenical Council will declare no new principle, nor any other than that which is already graven on your hearts by your faith and conscience; or than those which have been held sacred for ages by Christian peoples, on which repose, and have ever reposed, the welfare of States, the authority of magistrates, the liberty of nations, and which are at the same time the foundations of true science and true civilisation.' *

There is one thing against which it is our duty to be on our guard; I mean a fearful and timid anxiety as to the results of the Council and as to the future of the Church. It is the illusion of some minds to imagine that the Church was strong once, but is weak now; that the days of its supremacy are over, and that now it is in decline. The reverse is the fact. There was never a time since the Apostles descended from the guest-chamber to traverse the world, when the universality of the Church was so manifest, and its divine jurisdiction so widespread. There was never a moment when the unity of the Church both within and without, that is the unity of the faithful with their pastors, and of the pastors with their Head, the unanimity of pastors and flocks in faith and in charity, was so solid and invincible. From the mystery of the Holy Trinity to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, there is not a doctrine of faith on which Catholics in all the world differ by a shade. Peter's faith has not failed, and the Church rests on Peter's faith. We may be upon the eve of

* Address of the Bishops at Fulda, Sept. 6, 1869.

a great conflict, but the conflict is the forerunner of a greater manifestation of the Kingdom of God on earth. The eyes of men are looking one way, as they that look for the morning. They are hungering after rest, certainty, and truth. They have sought it up and down, and have not found it. The broken cisterns will hold no water; and the dim tradition of a fountain far off and yet at hand, closed to the world but ever open to all who will, is rising again upon their memory. The nations of the Christian world have been deceived, and turned against the Mother that bare them. But the unrest, and the unsatisfied craving of the heart and of the reason, is drawing them once more toward the only Church. All countries, above all our own, are conscious, in their political, religious, and intellectual life, of desires they cannot satisfy, and needs they cannot meet. 'As he that is hungry dreameth and eateth, but when he is awake his soul is empty: and as he that is thirsty dreameth and drinketh, and after he is awake is yet faint with thirst and his soul is empty; so shall be the multitude of all the nations that have fought against Mount Sion.'* It is the conflict with the Church of God that has wasted and withered the spiritual and intellectual life of Europe. England, with all its faults, is very dear to us. It has still a zeal for God; and the face of our land is yet beautiful with the memories of our Saints and Martyrs. The Council has moved it with strange and kindly aspirations. England hopes for some clearing in the dark sky which for the last three hundred years

* Isaias xxix. 8.

has lowered upon it; for some light upon the horizon; some change which will open to it once more the unity of Christendom and the rest of immutable faith. You will labour and pray that this visitation of the Spirit of God, now sensibly breathing over England, and over all the Christian world, may open the hearts of men, and prepare them for His voice, which, through this Council, is calling them home to the Mother of us all, the only fountain of grace and truth.

I remain, reverend and dear Brethren,

Your affectionate Servant in Christ,

✠ HENRY EDWARD,

Archbishop of Westminster.

ROSARY SUNDAY, 1869.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEN the foregoing Pastoral was already printed, I received from Paris Mgr. Maret's volumes, 'Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse.' I am sorry that I did not see them in time to weigh certain points raised in them before publishing what I have here written.

The Bishop has, however, re-stated so clearly the opinion he maintains, in the preface to his work, that I am at no loss to compare it precisely with the doctrine maintained in this Pastoral.

In making that comparison, I trust I shall use no word at variance with the fraternal charity and respect due from me to Mgr. Maret, both in person and as a brother.

He says of his own opinion, which shall be stated in his own words,* 'As truth cannot be contrary to itself, this doctrine is easily reconcilable with the doctrines which are the most moderate of the School which bears the name of Ultramontane. What Divine right, what certain right of the Sovereign Pontificate is there, which is not enunciated and defended in our book? The Pontifical infallibility itself is not therein denied, but brought back to its true nature. We acknowledge and prove that the Pope, by his right to *consult* or to *convoke* the

* Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse. Préface, xxvi. vii.

episcopal body, by the possibility in which he is of acting always in concert with it, possesses in virtue of the Divine order the assured means to *give* infallibility to his dogmatic judgments.'

From this I gather :—

1. That the Pontiff possesses a *means of giving* infallibility to his judgments.

2. That this means is the *right of consulting* the episcopal body.

From this it would seem to follow—

1. That, apart from the episcopal body, the Pontiff is not infallible.

2. That consultation with the episcopal body is a necessary condition of giving infallibility to his judgments.

3. That the Pontiff *gives* infallibility to his judgments by *receiving* it from the episcopal body, or by his union with it.

If I understand this statement, it denies the infallibility of the Pontiff altogether; for it affirms it only when the Pontiff has *given* to his judgment what he has received from the episcopal body, or what he cannot have without it.

In this process the words of our Lord seem to be inverted. It is his brethren who confirm him, not he who confirms his brethren.

The endowment of infallibility residing in the body flows to the Head when in consultation with the Episcopate. It is *influxus corporis in Caput*, not *Capitis in corpus*.

The doctrine I have maintained in these pages is as follows :—

1. That the endowment of stability or infallibility in Faith was given to Peter, and from him, according to our Lord's words, *confirma fratres tuos*, was derived to his brethren.

2. That this endowment, which is again and again called by the Fathers and Councils the 'Privilegium Petri,' or the 'Prærogativa Sedis Petri,' was given *in him* to his Successors.

3. That the Successor of Peter still 'confirms his brethren' by the possession and exercise of a divine right and endowment, not only of consulting them or of convoking them, but of witnessing, teaching, and judging by a special divine assistance which preserves him, as Universal Teacher in faith and morals, from error.

The office of Peter was not to be confirmed by, but to confirm, his brethren; the same is the office of his Successor, even when apart from convocation or consultation with the Episcopate *as a body*, whether congregated or dispersed.

In the testimonies I have quoted it is evident that, in virtue of a divine assistance, the dogmatic judgments of the Pontiff *ex cathedrâ* do not *receive* from the episcopal body, but *give* to the Universal Church, an infallible declaration of truth.

I must ask you to review the evidence I have given, in all of which the promise of our Lord, 'I have prayed for thee,' &c., is either expressed or understood; and Peter's privilege of stability in faith is ascribed to his Successor as the inheritance of his See.

Mgr. Maret proceeds to ask, 'Do we contend against

the authority of judgments *ex cathedrâ* when we affirm, with the great masters in theology, that there are certainly judgments of that kind only when the Pope employs the most certain means which God gives him to avoid error; that is to say, the concurrence of the bishops?'

If I understand these words, they mean :—

1. That no judgments are certainly *ex cathedrâ* except when the Pontiff acts with the concurrence of the bishops.

2. That the Pontiff is bound to employ the means which is the most certain to avoid error; namely, the concurrence of the bishops.

The doctrine maintained by me, under the guidance of every great master of theology of all Schools, Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit, so far as I know, excepting only theologians of the Gallican school,* is, that judgments *ex cathedrâ* are, in their essence, judgments of the Pontiff, *apart* from the episcopal body, whether congregated or dispersed. This concurrence of the episcopal body may or may not be united to the act of the Pontiff, which is perfect and complete in itself. It is to the *Cathedra Petri*, apart from the Episcopate, that the faithful and pastors of all the world throughout Christian history have had recourse. For instance, the condemnation of Pelagianism by Innocent the First, and of Jansenius

* Of this I think sufficient proof was given in the Pastoral of 1867. But I may refer to Aguirre, *Defensio Cathedræ Petri*; Gonzalez, *De Infalib. Rom. Pontificis*; Schrader, *De Unitate Romana*; Theoph. Raynaud, *Αὐτὸς ἔφα*; who expressly prove this point by ample quotations. The words of Peter de Marca, p. 106 *supra*, are alone enough.

by Innocent the Tenth, were appeals to the *Cathedra Petri*, and judgments *ex cathedrâ*, to which the consultation of the African or of the French bishops respectively contributed no influx of infallibility. And those two judgments were regarded as infallible, from the moment of their promulgation, by the whole Church.

If there be no certain judgments *ex cathedrâ* apart from the episcopal body, what are the judgments of Alexander VIII., Innocent XI., and Pius VI.?

What are the condemnations in the 'Theses Damnatæ?' The episcopal body was not united with the Pontiff in their publication. When did it become so? Till this concurrence was verified, these Pontifical Acts, according to Mgr. Maret's opinion, were not *ex cathedrâ*, and therefore were not certainly infallible. How long were they in this tentative state of suspended or conditional infallibility? Who has ever discerned and declared the epoch and the crisis after which they became judgments *ex cathedrâ*? Silence is not enough. Even strong terms of adhesion are not enough. The bishops of France received the condemnation of Jansenius by Innocent X. as infallible in 1653, but in 1682 published the Four Articles.

All this, if I rightly understand it, seems to present an inverted theory, at variance with the tradition, *praxis*, faith, and theology of the Church.

But further, if the Pontiffs are bound to employ 'the most certain means' to avoid error—namely, the concurrence of the episcopal body—they must either convoke a General Council or interrogate numerically the Episcopate throughout the world. Is

this an obligation of the divine order? If so, where is it to be read? In Scripture it cannot be looked for. In tradition it is not to be found. In history we have the direct reverse. We find the Pontiffs witnessing, teaching, deciding by the authority of Peter. We find the Episcopate appealing to their judgments as final. We find the faith of Peter, taken not only by the faithful, but also by the bishops, as the rule of faith, and the text of what is to be believed by all the world.

If the concurrence of the Episcopate with its Head be 'the *most certain means*' of avoiding error, because it is the full, ultimate, and, so to speak, exhaustive act of infallible judgment, nevertheless the privilege of stability in faith divinely granted to the See and Successor of Peter is *a certain* means of avoiding error; and that certainty, though *extensivè* it be not adequate to the certainty of the whole Church, which included always the See and Successor of Peter, is nevertheless intrinsically and by divine ordination certain, to the exclusion of the possibility of error.

Why, then, is the Pontiff bound to take 'the most certain means,' when a means divinely certain also exists? And why is he bound to take a means which demands an Œcumenical Council or a world-wide and protracted interrogation, with all the delays and uncertainties of correspondence, when, by the divine order, a certain means in the Apostolic See is always at hand? For instance, was Innocent X. bound to consult the whole episcopal body before he condemned Jansenius? or Alexander VIII., when he condemned the 'Peccatum Philosophicum'? or Sixtus

IV., when he condemned as heretical the proposition that 'the Church of the City of Rome may err' ?

It would seem to me that if any such obligation exists, or if declarations *ex cathedrâ* are only certain when the episcopal body has been consulted, then the action of the Pontiffs, from Innocent I. to Pius IX., has been out of course; and their doctrinal judgments fallible always, except when the Episcopate concurred in them; and for that reason almost always uncertain, because, except in a few cases, we cannot be certain, by explicit proof, whether the episcopal body has concurred in those judgments or no.

I know of no Ultramontane opinion with which this theory can be reconciled. The Ultramontane opinion is simply this, that the Pontiff speaking *ex cathedrâ*, in faith or morals, is infallible. In this there are no shades or moderations. It is simply aye or no. But the opinion we have been examining affirms the Pontiff to be infallible, only when the episcopal body concurs in his judgments. But if the episcopal body have not pronounced or even examined the subject-matter, as, for instance, in the question of the 'Peccatum Philosophicum,' or in the Jansenistic propositions, or in the questions 'De Auxiliis;' I would ask, are then the judgments of the Pontiff either not *ex cathedrâ*, or if *ex cathedrâ*, are they not infallible? But if they are not infallible they may be erroneous, and if the Pontiff in such judgments may err once, he might err always, and therefore cannot ever be infallible. I see no means of reconciling this opinion with that of any Ultramontanes, however moderate. They are *frontibus adversis pugnantis*. With all my heart, I desire to find a mode

of conciliation: not a *via media*, which is the essential method of falsehood, but any intellectual analysis and precise mental conception which might satisfy the mind of Mgr. Maret as to the infallibility of the See and of the Successor of Peter. I cannot but add in passing that much confusion seems to me to arise from this whole notion of '*moderate opinions*.'

The Pontifical judgments *ex cathedrâ* must be either fallible or infallible. If it be immoderate or exaggerated to affirm them to be infallible, how is it not equally immoderate or exaggerated to deny their infallibility? Either way the affirmation and the denial are equally absolute, trenchant, and peremptory. I see just as much, and just as little, moderation in the one as in the other. Either both are moderate or neither. And yet those who affirm the Pontifical infallibility are held up as warnings, and they who deny it as examples; the latter as patterns of moderation, the former as exaggerated and extreme. But they are both in extremes. Aye and no are equally exclusive, and admit of no degrees.

Is it not the truth that moderation is a quality, not of the intellect but of the moral nature? Certainty admits of no degrees. Doubt may; but certainty excludes doubt and all its gradations. To be moderate, cautious, forbearing, self-mistrusting, and considerate of opponents in all doubtful matters, is a virtue; but in matters that are certain, to fail in saying that they are so, is to betray the truth. To treat certainties as uncertainties in mathematics is not intellectual, in revelation is unbelief. The only moderation possible in matters of theological certainty

is to speak the truth in charity, ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ ; to diminish the precision of truths which are certain, or to suffer them to be treated as dubious, or to veil them by economies, or to modify them to meet the prejudices of men or the traditions of public opinion, is not moderation, but an infidelity to truth, and an immoderate fear, or an immoderate respect for some human authority.

Mgr. Maret further declares: 'We do not combat the Pontifical authority, except so far as it is identified with the system of the pure, indivisible, and absolute monarchy of the Roman Pontiff, and so far as his absolute monarchy and his personal infallibility are made one exclusive whole.'

Once more I am afraid of doing injustice to the Bishop of Sura. If I understand the doctrine which I suppose I must now call Ultramontane, but would rather call, as all the schools of Christendom do, Catholic, it is this—that the supreme and ultimate power, both in jurisdiction and in faith, or the *clavis jurisdictionis* and the *clavis scientiæ*, was committed first and for ever to Peter, and in him, as the Council of Florence says, to his Successors. The Episcopate succeeding to the Apostolate received, *servatâ proportionē*, a participation of the pastoral care and of the endowments of the Church. What Peter was to the Apostles, the Pontiffs are to the bishops. What they have in part, he has in plenitude. I am unable to see that the primacy and infallibility of Peter in any way lessened or detracted from the authority and endowments of the Apostles; nor does it appear how the authority and endowment of his

Successor shall lessen or detract from those of the Episcopate. Bishops are not less authoritative because their Head is more so. Bishops are not less judges of doctrine in an Œcumenical Council because their Head, in the intervals between Council and Council, is, by Divine assistance, guided and sustained so that he shall not err in interpreting the faith and expounding the law of God. It is in behalf of the whole Church, pastors and people, that the Spirit of God preserves from error the Head, on whom all so depend, that an error in his guidance would mislead the whole flock, or break the Divine unity of the Church, or undermine the witness and the *magisterium* of the universal Church. Bishops are not elevated by the depression of their chief. The least bishop in the world feels himself elevated and strengthened by the belief that the words 'Ego rogavi pro te' were spoken to his Chief and Head, and that, in union with him, and through him, he is confirmed in the infallible faith of Peter. I know of no monarchy pure and absolute beyond this.

To sum up the comparison of these two opinions. The opinion of Mgr. Maret would seem to place the infallibility of the Church in the whole body as its proper residence, and by result in its Head.

The doctrine here maintained is that infallibility was communicated by the Divine Head of the Church to Peter as His visible representative and Vicar upon earth, and through him to his Successors and to the Church for ever.

In virtue of this order the Church is always infallible, both actively in teaching and passively in believing.

In its active infallibility it is secured from error, whether dispersed, as it is always, throughout the world, or congregated, as it rarely is, in Council. Only eighteen times in eighteen hundred years has it met in Council; but through all those eighteen centuries its active infallibility has been, not intermittent but continuous, both in its Episcopate with its Head, and in its Head as Universal Pastor and Teacher, both of pastors and flock.

The stability, indefectibility, or infallibility of the faith of Peter are three modes of expressing the same Divine fact.

If this be monarchy pure, indivisible, and absolute, then I fear I must come under the author's censure, though I cannot admit its justice or understand its terms. If Mgr. Maret does not intend to condemn this, then, I think, I will even hope that his learned mind has suffered some illusion, perhaps arising from a want of precision in some who are opponents, and from a want of chastened language in those who are about him. I most sincerely and ardently share in his desire to see all divergences corrected in the enunciation of truth, pure, clear, and lucid as the river of the water of life. I have consciously no thought in my heart but to promote this unity of mind and will; and in what I have written, if there be a word to wound save where truth compels it, I hereby record my desire to blot it out.

Stability signifies the immovable firmness of the Faith in standing against all assaults of power and force: indefectibility, the imperishable vitality and light of faith, which can never fail: infallibility,

the unerring discernment of truth in detecting and destroying falsehood in the midst of the intellectual aberrations of the Christian world. These three endowments are various in their operations, but identical in their nature and their source. It is the perpetual Divine assistance, derived from the perpetual presence of the Spirit of Truth in the Church, which sustains the Faith of the See and of the Successor of Peter, stable, indefectible, and infallible; that is, in one word, 'Yesterday and to-day and the same for ever.'

I do not know how other minds may be affected by the history of Christianity, in which, as I have very briefly shown, the eyes of men and of nations in all lands were always turned to the See and the Successor of Peter as the centre and source of this stable, indefectible, and infallible faith. To me this manifests the 'Privilegium Petri' with the evidence of light. Two hundred and fifty-seven Pontiffs in unbroken line have witnessed, taught, and judged in causes of faith. Against three only do the modern adversaries of the Pontifical infallibility bring charge of heterodoxy. Two hundred and fifty-four stand unchallenged in their immutable stability of faith. Of those three, two, Liberius and Vigilius, are not charged with heresy. Whatever be the fault of Honorius, supineness or hesitation, heterodox he was not; heretical he could not be, for his own letters remain to prove the orthodoxy of his teaching. But these three are all that the most relentless adversaries of the 'Privilegium Petri' have ever been able to adduce. To my mind, these threads of mist upon the

world-wide splendour of two hundred and fifty-seven Successors of Peter, in no way affect the confidence with which we say of them in S. Leo's words: 'Soliditas enim illa, quam de Petra Christo etiam ipse Petra factus accepit, in suos quoque se transfudit hæredes; '* and of his See in the words of prophecy: 'Thronus ejus sicut sol in conspectu meo et sicut luna perfecta in æternum; et testis in cœlo fidelis.'†

* Bellarm. De Summo Pontif. lib. iv. cc. viii. to xiv. In die Assumpt. Serm. v. cap. 4.

† Psalm lxxxviii.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL

AND ITS DEFINITIONS:

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CLERGY

BY

HENRY EDWARD

ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

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THE VATICAN COUNCIL

AND ITS DEFINITIONS

BY THE VENERABLE FATHER

JOHN NEWMAN

OF THE ORDER OF THE PRELATES OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

The World and the Council.

External history of the Council, 2; The alleged indifference to the Council, 13; Internal history, 24; Protest of the Cardinal Presidents, 33; Definition by acclamation, 36; Definitions binding on all the faithful, 39.

CHAPTER II.

The Two Constitutions.

Analysis of the Constitution *De Fide Catholica*, 43; Preparation for the definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, 51; Analysis of the First Constitution on the Church of Christ, 54; Six points of the definition of Infallibility, 57.

I. Meaning of the phrase *loqui ex cathedrâ*, 58.

II. Faith and morals the object of Infallibility, 59; Five points of the Charter of the Church: 1. The perpetuity and universality of the mission of the Church as a Teacher of mankind. 2. The deposit of the Divine Faith and Law entrusted to the Church. 3. The Church the sole interpreter of the Faith and of the Law. 4. The Church the sole Divine Judge over the reason and will of man. 5. The Perpetual Presence of our Lord with the Church, 59. The doctrinal authority of the Church not confined to matters of revelation, 67; Truths of Science, 67; Truths of History, 68; Dogmatic Facts, 68, 69; Minor censures, 73.

III. The efficient cause of Infallibility, 79; Witness of St. Ambrose, A.D. 397, 79; Witness of St. John Chrysostom, A.D. 407, 80; Witness of St. Augustine, A.D. 430, 80; Witness of St. Cyril, A.D. 444, 80; Witness of St. Leo, A.D. 460, 81; Witness of St. Gelasius, A.D. 496, 81; Witness of Pelagius II., A.D. 590, 81; Witness of St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 604, 82; Witness of Stephanus Dorensis, A.D. 649, 82; Witness of St. Vitalian, A.D. 669, 83.

IV. The Acts to which the divine assistance is attached, 86.

V. The extension of the Infallible authority to the limits of the doctrinal office of the Church, 90.

VI. The dogmatic value of Pontifical acts *ex cathedrâ*, 91.

CHAPTER III.

The Terminology of the Doctrine of Infallibility.

Personal, 94, 112; Independent, 97, 113; Separate, 98, 113; Absolute, 102, 113.

CHAPTER IV.

Scientific History and the Catholic Rule of Faith.

Evidence of history, and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, 114; Cumulus of evidence for the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff undiminished by historical doubts, 116; Difficulties of human history, 119; The German Bishops at Fulda, 120; Heretical assumptions of 'scientific history,' 126; History improperly called a science, 131; Definition of science, 131; Theology only *improprie* a science, 133; Modern Gnosticism, 135.

CHAPTER V.

Result of the Definition.

Bishops witnesses of the objective faith of the Church, 139; Tradition of England, 140; Sir Thomas More, 141; Cardinal Fisher, 142; Cardinal Pole, 142; Harding, 143; Campian, 144; Nicholas Sanders, 145; Kellison, 145; Southwell, 147; Alban Butler, 148; Charles Plowden, 149; Bishop Hay, 151; Bishop Milner, 151; Predicted disasters from the Definition, 152.

APPENDIX

- I. The Latin *Postulatum* of the Bishops for the Definition of the Infallibility, 163; English Translation of the same, 167.
- II. Letter of H. E. Cardinal Antonelli to Count Daru, 173.
- III. Protest of the Cardinal Presidents, 181.
- IV. *Constitutio De Fide Catholica*, 182; Translation of the same, 192; *Constitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi*, 204; Translation of the same, 211.
- V. Rules laid down by Theologians for Doctrinal Definitions, 220.
- VI. The Case of Honorius; Note of the Archbishop of Baltimore on the question of Honorius, 223.
- VII. Letter of the German Bishops on the Council, 225.



THE VATICAN COUNCIL

AND

ITS DEFINITIONS.



CHAPTER I.

THE WORLD AND THE COUNCIL.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

From the opening of the Council until the close of the Fourth Public Session, when leave was given to the Bishops to return for a time to their flocks, I thought it my duty to keep silent. It was not indeed easy to refrain from contradicting the manifold errors and falsehoods by which the Council has been assailed. But it seemed for many reasons to be a higher duty, to wait until the work in which we were engaged should be accomplished. That time is now happily come: and the obligation which would have hitherto forbidden the utterance of much that I might have desired to say has been by supreme authority removed.

To you therefore, Reverend and dear Brethren, I at once proceed to make known in mere outline the chief events of this first period of the Council of the Vatican.

I shall confine what I have to say to the three following heads :—First, to a narrative of certain facts external to the Council, but affecting the estimate of its character and acts; secondly, to an appreciation of the internal spirit and action of the Council; and thirdly, to a brief statement of the two dogmatic Constitutions published in its third and fourth Sessions.

First, as to the external history of the Council. As yet, no narrative, or official account of its proceedings, has been possible. The whole world, Catholic and Protestant, has been therefore compelled to depend chiefly upon newspapers. And as these powerfully preoccupy and prejudice the minds of men, I thought it my duty, during the eight months in which I was a close and constant witness of the procedure and acts of the Council, to keep pace with the histories and representations made by the press in Italy, Germany, France, and England. This, by the watchful care of others in England and in Rome, I was enabled to do. In answer to an inquiry from this country as to what was to be believed respecting the Council, I considered it my duty to reply: ‘Read carefully the correspondence from Rome published in England, believe the reverse, and you will not be far from the truth.’ I am sorry to be compelled to say that this is, above all, true of our own journals. Whether the amusing blunders and persistent misrepresentations were to be charged to the account of ill will, or of want of common knowledge, it was often not easy to say. Two things however were obvious. The journals of

Catholic countries, perverse and hostile as they might be, rarely if ever made themselves ridiculous. They wrote with great bitterness and animosity: but with a point which showed that they understood what they were perverting; and that they had obtained their knowledge from sources which could only have been opened to them by violation of duty. Their narratives of events which were passing under my own eyes, day by day, were so near the truth, and yet so far from it, so literally accurate, but so absolutely false, that for the first time I learned to understand Paolo Sarpi's 'History of the Council of Trent:' and foresaw how perhaps, from among nominal Catholics, another Paolo Sarpi will arise to write the History of the Council of the Vatican. But none of this applies to our own country. I am the less disposed to charge these misrepresentations, in the case of English correspondents, to the account of ill will, though they abundantly showed the inborn animosity of an anti-Catholic tradition, because neither correspondents nor journalists ever willingly expose themselves to be laughed at. I therefore put it down to the obvious reason that when English Protestants undertake to write of an Œcumenical Council of the Catholic Church, nothing less than a miracle could preserve them from making themselves ridiculous. This, I am sorry to know, for the fair name of our country, has been the effect produced by English newspapers upon foreign countries. Latterly, however, they seemed to have learned prudence, and to have relied no longer on correspondents who, hardly knowing the name, nature, use, or purpose of anything

about which they had to write, were at the mercy of such informants as English travellers meet at a table-d'hôte in Rome. Then appeared paragraphs without date or place, duly translated, as we discovered by comparing them, from Italian and German newspapers. They were less amusing, but they were even more misleading. By way of preface, I will give the estimate of two distinguished Bishops, who are beyond suspicion, as to the truthfulness of one notorious journal.

Of all the foreign sources from which the English newspapers drew their inspiration, the chief, perhaps, was the 'Augsburg Gazette.' This paper has many titles to special consideration. The infamous matter of Janus first appeared in it under the form of articles. During the Council, it had in Rome at least one English contributor. Its letters on the Council have been translated into English and published by a Protestant bookseller, in a volume by Quirinus.

I refrain from giving my own estimate of the book, until I have first given the judgment of a distinguished Bishop of Germany, one of the minority opposed to the definition, whose cause the 'Augsburg Gazette' professed to serve.

Bishop Von Ketteler, of Mayence, publicly protested against 'the systematic dishonesty of the correspondent of the "Augsburg Gazette."' 'It is a pure invention,' he adds, 'that the Bishops named in that journal declared that Döllinger represented, as to the substance of the question (of infallibility), the opinions of a majority of the German Bishops.' And this, he said, 'is not an isolated error, but part of a system

which consists in the daring attempt to publish false news, with the object of deceiving the German public, according to a plan concerted beforehand.' . . . 'It will be necessary one day to expose in all their nakedness and abject mendacity the articles of the "Augsburg Gazette." They will present a formidable and lasting testimony to the extent of injustice of which party men, who affect the semblance of superior education, have been guilty against the Church.'* Again, at a later date, the Bishop of Mayence found it necessary to address to his Diocese another public protest against the inventions of the 'Augsburg Gazette.' 'The "Augsburg Gazette,"' he says, 'hardly ever pronounces my name without appending to it a falsehood.' 'It would have been easy for us to prove that every Roman letter of the "Augsburg Gazette" contains gross perversions and untruths. Whoever is conversant with the state of things here, and reads these letters, cannot doubt an instant that these errors are voluntary, and are part of a concerted system designed to deceive the public. If time fails me to correct publicly this uninterrupted series of falsehoods, it is impossible for me to keep silence when an attempt is made, with so much perfidy, to misrepresent my own convictions.'†

* The Vatican, March 4, 1870, p. 145.

† The Vatican, June 17, 1870, p. 319. 'The Archbishop of Cologne has condemned a pretended Catholic journal in which the dogma of the Infallibility is attacked, and the proceedings of the Council misrepresented and vilified. The sentence of the Archbishop on this matter derives the greater weight from the fact of his having, as he states, formed part of the minority in the memorable vote of July 13. The Archbishop says: "The clergy of this Diocese are

Again, Bishop Hefele, commenting on the Roman correspondents of the 'Augsburg Gazette' says: 'It is evident that there are people, not Bishops, but

aware that a weekly paper, the *Rheinischer Merkur*, constantly attacks, in an odious manner, and with ignoble weapons, the Holy Church, in the person of its lawful chiefs the Pope and the Bishops, and in its highest representative the Œcumenical Council; so that men's minds are disturbed, and the hearts of the faithful alienated from the Church. It also openly advocates the abolition, by the secular authority, of the Church's liberty and independence. I therefore hold it to be my duty, in discharge of my pastoral office, to expose the anti-Catholic character of the said paper; not because I regard it as of any greater importance than those other more noisy organs of the press which are the exponents of hatred against religion, but simply because the paper above-named pretends to be Catholic. It is on that account that, as Catholic Bishop of this city, I feel called upon to denounce the falsehood of the assumption of the name of Catholic by a journal which is labouring to overthrow the unity of the Church by separating Catholics from that rock on which she is founded. This declaration is also due from me to those my Right Reverend Brethren in the Episcopate who belonged with me to the minority in the Council. The journal in question assumes to be the exponent of the sentiments of that minority, but it never was in any way, directly or indirectly, recognised by it or any of its members; it has been, on the contrary, repeatedly blamed and denounced. Wherefore I exhort all the Rev. Clergy of the Archdiocese to be mindful of their duty as sons of the Catholic Church; and not countenance in any way whatsoever, either by taking it in or reading it, the journal above-named, which outrages our holy Mother, rejects her authority, and desires to see her enslaved. I also exhort you on all fitting occasions to warn your flocks of the dangerous and anti-Catholic character of that journal, so that they may be dissuaded from buying or reading it, and may escape being deluded by its errors. I had resolved to order an instruction to be given from the pulpit upon the more recent decisions of the Council, and especially upon the infallible teaching of the Pope, and to explain therein the true sense of the Dogma; and thus to remove the prejudices that have been raised against it, as if it were a novel doctrine or one in contradiction to the end of the Church's constitution, or to sound reason; and to meet generally the objections raised against the validity of the Council's decision."

having relations with the Council, who are not restrained by duty and conscience.’* We had reason to believe that the names of these people, both German and English, were well known to us.

Now the testimony of the Bishop of Mayence, as to the falsehoods of these correspondents respecting Rome and Germany, I can confirm by my testimony as to their treatment of matters relating to Rome and England. I do not think there is a mention of my own name without, as the Bishop of Mayence says, the appendage of a falsehood. The whole tissue of the correspondence is false. Even the truths it narrates are falsified: and through this discoloured medium the English people, by the help of Quirinus and the ‘Saturday Review,’ gaze and are misled.

To relieve this graver aspect of the subject, I will add a few livelier exploits of our English correspondents. On January 14, an English journal announced that the Bishops were unable to speak Latin; and that Cardinal Altieri (who laid down his life for his flock in the cholera three years ago), in whose rooms the Bishops met, ‘was beside himself.’ ‘What is there,’ the correspondent of another paper asked, ‘in seven hundred old men dressed in white, and wearing tall paper caps?’ ‘The Oriental Bishops,’ he says, ‘refused to wear white mitres:’ reasonably, because they never wear them. ‘The Bishop of Thun attacked the Bishop of Sura with a violence which threatened personal collision.’ There is no Bishop of Thun. The same paper, July 7, says, ‘I was positively shocked, yesterday, at finding that the Roman

* The Vatican, March 4, 1870, p. 145.

Catholic Hierarchy of my own country is a sham ; at least, so far as regards its territorial and independent pretensions. Every one of them, including the Archbishop, is in charge of a Vicar Apostolic, Cardinal Maddalena, titular Archbishop of Corfu, within whose diocese, it would appear, our island is situated.' This has more foundation in fact than the other statements, for until the Archbishop of Corfu could find a carriage, we used daily to go together to the Council.

A leading journal, in May last, announced : ' At a recent sitting of the Council, Cardinal Schwarzenberg made a speech which created even a greater uproar than the former one of Bishop Strossmayer.' In this speech he defended Protestants with such vigour that ' the presiding Legate, Cardinal De Angelis, interrupted the speaker, and a warm dispute between the two Cardinals ensued. The President strove repeatedly, but in vain, to silence the Cardinal with his bell : and at length the Bishops drowned his protest in a storm of hisses, in the midst of which the Cardinal was carried from the tribune, half fainting with excitement, to his seat.' The Cardinal was indeed called to order, but no such tragedy was ever acted. ' The Papal authorities,' says another journal, ' have housed the Bishops with discriminating hospitality. Those who could not be absolutely trusted have been lodged with safe companions, in the proportion of one weak brother to half-a-dozen strong.' ' The Jesuits have had the manipulation of the flock and have done it well.' The distribution of the Bishops was made by the Government, and months before the Council opened, with as much

theological manipulation as the filling of a train from Paddington. Again, we hear on May 17, that 'Cardinal Bilio, the Prefect of the Deputation for Dogma, and author of the Syllabus, has passed over to the opposition.' When the Holy Father heard of this defection 'he was seized with faintness,' and told the Cardinal 'to go on a tour for the benefit of his health.' The 'Times' at last confessed: 'To find out the truth of what is going on is difficult beyond conception.' . . . 'Every day, even every hour, brings up its story, which, in nine cases out of ten, will prove an ingenious hoax.' Therefore nine-tenths of these histories are labelled 'hoaxes.' The 'Times' adds: 'To pick one's way amidst these snares, without becoming the victims of delusions, is what no man can feel quite sure of.' A warning of which I hope the readers of newspapers will fully avail themselves.

The 'Standard,' wiser than its fellows, said in February: 'It is a thousand pities that English correspondents should childishly swallow cock-and-bull stories of what never did and never could have occurred in the Council, and thus damage their own reputation for accuracy, as well as inferentially that of their colleagues.'

Another journal damaged something more than its reputation for accuracy, when, after having announced that the Roman Clergy, that is, the Parish Priests of Rome, had, all but eight, declined to petition in favour of the definition, it was again and again called upon to publish the fact that the Roman Clergy unanimously petitioned for the definition, in a form

so explicit that the Clergy of England and Scotland afterwards adopted it as their own and presented it to the Holy Father. The newspaper in question was never pleased to insert the correction.

But these are flowers plucked at random.

I will now endeavour to give shortly a more connected outline of the Vatican Council, as drawn by the newspapers of the last eight or nine months; and as their representations will be one day read up as contemporaneous records for a future history, I wish to leave in the Archives of the Diocese a contemporaneous record of their utter worthlessness, and, for the most part, of their utter falsehood.

As the highest point attracts the storm, so the chief violence fell upon the head of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. On this I shall say nothing. Posterity will know Pius the Ninth; and the world already knows him now too well to remember, except with sorrow and disgust, the language of his enemies. 'If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?' No one has this privilege above the Vicar of the Master; and it is a great joy and distinct source of strength and confidence to all of the household to share this sign, which never fails to mark those who are on His side against the world.

The Council was composed, at first, of 767 Fathers. We were told that their very faces were such as to compel an enlightened correspondent, at the first sight of them, to lament 'that the spiritual welfare of the world should be committed to such men.'

Then, by a wonderful disposition of things, for the

good, no doubt, of the human race, and above all of the Church itself, the Council was divided into a majority and a minority: and, by an even more beneficent and admirable provision, it was so ordered that the theology, philosophy, science, culture, intellectual power, logical acumen, eloquence, candour, nobleness of mind, independence of spirit, courage, and elevation of character in the Council, were all to be found in the minority. The majority was naturally a Dead Sea of superstition, narrowness, shallowness, ignorance, prejudice; without theology, philosophy, science, or eloquence; gathered from 'old Catholic countries;' bigoted, tyrannical, deaf to reason; with a herd of 'Curial and Italian Prelates,' and mere 'Vicars Apostolic.'

The Cardinal Presidents were men of imperious and overbearing character, who by violent ringing of bells and intemperate interruptions cut short the calm and inexorable logic of the minority.

But the conduct of the majority was still more overbearing. By violent outcries, menacing gestures, and clamorous manifestations round the tribune, they drowned the thrilling eloquence of the minority, and compelled unanswerable orators to descend.

Not satisfied with this, the majority, under the pretext that the method of conducting the discussions was imperfect, obtained from the supreme authority a new regulation, by which all liberty of discussion was finally taken from the noble few who were struggling to redeem the Council and the Church from bondage.

From that date the non-œcumenicity of the Council was no longer doubtful. Indeed, 'Janus' had told

the world in many tongues, long before it met, that the Council would not be free. Nevertheless, the minority persevered with heroic courage, logic which nothing could resist, and eloquence which electrified the most insensible, until a tyrannous majority, deaf to reason and incapable of argument, cut discussion short by an arbitrary exercise of power; and so silenced the only voices nobly lifted up for science, candour, and common sense.

This done, the definition of new dogmas became inevitable, and the antagonism between the ultraromanism of a party and the progress of modern society, between independence and servility, became complete.

Such is the history of the Council written *ab extra* in the last nine months. I believe that every epithet I have given may be verified in the mass of extracts now before me.

A leading English journal, ten days after the Definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, with great simplicity observed, 'It is curious to compare the very general and deep interest taken by all intelligent observers in the early deliberations of the Council with the equally marked indifference to the culmination of its labours. Every rumour that came from Rome six or seven months ago was canvassed with great eagerness, even by men who cared little for ordinary theological disputations: while the proclamation of the astonishing dogma of papal infallibility has produced in any but ecclesiastical circles little beyond a certain amount of perfunctory criticism.'

The main cause of this contrast is, of course,

not far to seek. The writer proceeds to assign the cause, and in so doing passes at once, with a gravity befitting the occasion, to a disquisition on Sir William Hamilton's theory of perception, and on 'the gigantic gooseberry.'

Such is the earnestness and the sincerity with which English journals, even of high repute, have treated the subject of the Œcumenical Council.

Let me, also, assign the cause why the un-Catholic and anti-Catholic world took so clamorous an interest in the opening of the Council, and in the end affected so ill-sustained a tone of indifference. I know of no public event in our day the explanation of which is more transparent and self-evident. It is this.

When the Council assembled, it was both hoped and believed that the 'Roman Curia' and the 'Ultramontane party' would be checked and brought under by the decisions of the Bishops. A controversy had been waged against what was termed 'Ultramontanism,' or 'Ultra-Catholicism,' or 'Ultra-Romanism,' in Germany, France, and England. When I last addressed you I used the following words, which I now repeat, because I can find none more exact. They have been fulfilled to the very letter.

'Facts like these give a certain warrant to the assertions and prophecies of politicians and Protestants. They prove that in the Catholic Church there is a school at variance with the doctrinal teaching of the Holy See in matters which are not of faith. But they do not reveal how small that school is. Its centre would seem to be at Munich; it has, both in France and in England, a small number of adherents. They

are active, they correspond, and, for the most part, write anonymously. It would be difficult to describe its tenets, for none of its followers seem to be agreed in all points. Some hold the infallibility of the Pope, and some defend the Temporal Power. Nothing appears to be common to all, except an animus of opposition to the acts of the Holy See in matters outside the faith.

‘In this country, about a year ago, an attempt was made to render impossible, as it was confidently but vainly thought, the definition of the infallibility of the Pontiff, by reviving the monotonous controversy about Pope Honorius. Later we were told of I know not what combination of exalted personages in France for the same end. It is certain that these symptoms are not sporadic and disconnected, but in mutual understanding, and with a common purpose. The anti-Catholic press has eagerly encouraged this school of thought. If a Catholic can be found out of tune with authority by half a note, he is at once extolled for unequalled authority and irrefragable logic. The anti-Catholic journals are at his service, and he vents his opposition to the common opinions of the Church by writing against them anonymously. Sad as this is, it is not formidable. It has effect almost alone upon those who are not Catholic. Upon Catholics its effect is hardly appreciable; on the theological Schools of the Church, it will have little influence; upon the Œcumenical Council it can have none.’*

Many publications had appeared in French, Eng-

* Pastoral on ‘The Œcumenical Council, 1869,’ &c. pp. 132, 133.

lish, and German, from which it became evident that a common purpose and plan of co-operation had been formed. Certain notorious letters published in France, and the infamous book 'Janus,' translated into English, French, and Italian, proclaimed open war upon the Council within the unity of the Catholic Church. This alone was enough to set the whole anti-Catholic world on fire with curiosity, hope, and delight. The learning, the science of the intellectual freemen of the Roman Church were already under arms to reduce the pretensions of Rome.

A belief had also spread itself that the Council would explain away the doctrines of Trent, or give them some new or laxer meaning, or throw open some questions supposed to be closed, or come to a compromise or transaction with other religious systems; or at least that it would accommodate the dogmatic stiffness of its traditions to modern thought and modern theology. It is strange that any one should have forgotten that every General Council, from Nicæa to Trent, which has touched on the faith, has made new definitions, and that every new definition is a new dogma, and closes what was before open, and ties up more strictly the doctrines of faith. This belief, however, excited an expectation, mixed with hopes, that Rome by becoming comprehensive might become approachable, or by becoming inconsistent might become powerless over the reason and the will of men.

But the interest excited by this preliminary skirmishing external to the Council, was nothing compared to the exultation with which the anti-Catholic opinion and anti-Catholic press of Protestant countries,

and the anti-Roman opinion and press even of Catholic countries, beheld, as they believed, the formation of an organised 'international opposition' of more than a hundred Bishops within the Council itself. The day was come at last. What the world could not do against Rome from without, its own Bishops were going to do against Rome, and in the world's service, from within. I shall hereafter show how little the world knew the Bishops whom it wronged by its adulation, and damaged by its praise. They were the favourites of the world, because they were believed to be fighting the Pope. In a moment, all the world rose up to meet them. Governments, politicians, newspapers, schismatical, heretical, infidel, Jewish, revolutionary, as with one unerring instinct, united in extolling and setting forth the virtue, learning, science, eloquence, nobleness, heroism of this 'international opposition.' With an iteration truly Homeric, certain epithets were perpetually linked to certain names. All who were against Rome were written up; all who were for Rome were written down. The public eye and ear of all countries were filled, and taught to associate all that is noble and great with 'the international opposition;' all that is neither noble nor great, not to say more, with others. The interest was thus wrought up to the highest pitch; and a confident expectation was raised, and spread abroad, that the Council would be unable to make a definition, and that Rome would be defeated. I can hardly conceive a keener or more vivid motive of interest to the anti-Catholic world than this. For this cause Rome was full of correspondents, 'our

own,' 'our special,' and 'our occasional.' Private persons forsook great interests and duties, to reside in Rome for the support of the 'international opposition.' A league of newspapers, fed from a common centre, diffused hope and confidence in all countries, that the science and enlightenment of the minority would save the Catholic Church from the immoderate pretensions of Rome, and the superstitious ignorance of the universal Episcopate. Day after day, the newspapers teemed with the achievements and orations of the opposition. The World believed that it had found its own in the heart of the Episcopate, and loved it as its own. There was nothing it might not hope for, expect, and predict. In truth, it is no wonder that a very intense interest should be excited in minds hostile to Rome by such a spectacle as the outer world then believed itself to see. And such, we may safely affirm, were the chief motives of its feverish excitement, at the opening and during the early period of the Council.

But how shall we account for the indifference with which the World affects to treat its close?

By two very obvious reasons. First, because it became gradually certain that the World had not found its own in the Council; and that the 'opposition' on which it counted were not the servants of the World, but Bishops of the Catholic Church, who, while using all freedom which the Church abundantly gave them, would in heart, mind, and will, remain faithful to its divine authority and voice. And secondly, because it became equally certain, indeed was self-evident, that no opposition, from without or

from within, could move the Council a hair's breadth out of the course in which it was calmly and irresistibly moving to its appointed work.

The hopes and confidence of the miscellaneous alliance of nominal Catholics, Protestants, rationalists, and unbelievers, received its first sharp check when some five hundred Fathers of the Council desired of the Holy See that the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff should be defined.* This event manifested a mind and a will so united and so decisive, as to reduce the proportions of the opposition, both numerically and morally, to very little. Still it was confidently hoped that some event, in the chapter of accidents, might yet hinder the definition; that either the minority might become more powerful by increase, or the majority less solid by division.

This expectation again was rudely shaken by the unanimous vote of the third public Session. The first Constitution *De Fide* had been so vehemently assailed, and, as it was imagined, so utterly defeated, that if ever voted at all it would be voted only by a small majority, or at least it would be resisted by an imposing minority. It was therefore no small surprise that the whole Council, consisting then of 664 Fathers, should have affirmed it with an unanimous vote. I well remember that when the '*Placets*' of the 'opposition leaders' sounded through the Council Hall, certain high diplomatic personages looked significantly at each other. This majestic unanimity, after the alleged internal contentions of the Council, was as perplexing as it was undeniable. The World began to fear that, after all, the international opposition

* See Appendix, p. 163.

would neither serve its purposes nor do its work. A sensible change of tone was then perceived. The correspondents wrote of everything but of this unanimity. The newspapers became almost silent. The leading articles almost ceased. From that time they exchanged the tone of confidence and triumph for a tone of irritation and of no little bitterness.

Nevertheless, a new hope arose. Governments were acted upon to make representations, and all but to menace the Holy Father.* For a time, confidence revived. It was thought impossible that the joint note of so many Powers, and the joint influence of so many diplomatists, could fail of their effect. It did not seem to occur to those who invoked the interference of the Civil Powers that they were thereby endeavouring to deprive the Council of its liberty: which, in those who were complaining, in all languages, that the Council was not free, involved a self-contradiction on which I need not comment. Neither did they seem to remember that those who invoke the secular power against the spiritual authority of the Church, whether to defeat a sentence already given, or to prevent the delivery of such a sentence, are *ipso facto* excommunicate, and that their case is reserved to the Pope.† This,

* See Appendix, p. 173.

† *Appellantes seu recurrentes ad curiam sæcularem ab ordinationibus alicujus judicis ecclesiastici excommunicationem incurrunt* Papæ reservatum ex cap. 16 Bullæ *In Cæna Domini*, sive illi judices ecclesiastici sint ordinarii sive delegati, ut patet in eadem Bulla: et multi dicunt hoc procedere, etiamsi sic appellantes et recurrentes nulla decreta pœnalia aut inhibitiones contra eosdem judices ecclesiasticos obtineant; alii tamen contrarium tenent. Vide interpretes super dicta Bulla cap. 19, et Bonacina *de Censur.* in partic. disp. 1, q. 17, punct. 1, num. 28, qui auctores pro utraque parte

which applies to any ordinary ecclesiastical judge in matters of law, surely applies in an eminent degree to an Œcumenical Council in matters of faith. Be this as it may, for a time the interest of the World was re-awakened by the hope that Rome would be in some way baffled after all.

But this hope also was doomed to disappointment. The distribution by the Cardinal Presidents of the *Additamentum*, or additional chapter on the doctrine of Infallibility; the introduction of the *Schema de Romano Pontifice* before the *Schema de Ecclesia*; the closing of the general discussion by a vote of the Council; all alike showed that the Council knew its own mind, and was resolved to do its duty. It became unmistakably clear how few were in opposition; and equally certain that, when the definition should be completed, all opposition would cease. The interest in the Council, manifested by the anti-Catholic World, at once collapsed. The correspondents became silent, or only found reasons why nobody cared any longer for the Council. A period of supercilious disdain followed; and then the correspondents of the English journals, one by one, left Rome. The game was played out: and the last hope of an intestine conflict in the Church was over. A

allegat. Et continet etiam judices seculares, qui ea occasione decernunt contra dictos judices ecclesiasticos, et eos qui illa decreta exequuntur; et continet dantes consilium, patrocinium, et favorem in eisdem, ut patet ex eadem Bulla.

In hac materia vide plures pœnas infra verb. *Curia*, c. 8, et verb. *Jurisdictio*, et procedit etiam in tacita, seu anticipata appellatione ad procurandum impediri futuras ordinationes judicii ecclesiastici, ut Bonac. num. 23, juxta probabiliorem.—Giraldus de *Pœnis Eccl.* pars ii. c. iii. vol. v. p. 96.

more disappointing end to the high hopes and excited anticipations with which the adversaries of the Catholic Church cheered on the opposition at the opening of the year, cannot be conceived. They little knew the men whom they were mortifying and dishonouring by their applause. They forgot that Bishops are not deputies, and that an Œcumenical Council is not a Parliament. And when, of the eighty-eight who on the thirteenth of July voted *Non placet*, two only repeated their *Non placet* on the eighteenth, proving thereby that what two could do eighty might have done, the World was silent, and has steadfastly excluded the Constitution *De Romano Pontifice* from the columns of its newspapers.

Here is the simple and self-evident reason of this pretended loss of interest in the Council. It is the affected indifference of those who, having staked their reputation on the issue of a contest, have been thoroughly and hopelessly disappointed.

Before I conclude this part of the subject, I will give one passage as a supreme example of what I have been describing. I take it from the chief newspaper in England. It is from an article evidently written by a cultivated and practised hand. It appeared when the definition was seen to be certain and near. It was intended to ruin its effects beforehand. The writer could not narrate what had taken place, because it was before the event; nor what would really take place, because nothing was known: but what he thought would excite contempt, *that* he pleased to say would take place. Nevertheless, he spoke as if the events were certain, and already so

ordered; which truth forbade: and he taxed his ingenuity to make the whole account in the highest degree odious or ridiculous; which revealed his motive. The reader will bear in mind that not one particle of the following elaborate description is true, or had even a shadow of truth. But nobody would perceive the fine verbal distinctions on which the writer would defend himself from a charge of deliberate falsehood.

On June 8, we read as follows:—

‘The British public have some reason to regret that the pressure of subjects nearer home, and more directly concerning this country, has put their interest in the Œcumenical Council somewhat in abeyance. A great event is at hand. There can no longer be any doubt that at the approaching Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the 29th instant, the priceless blessing of Papal Infallibility will be vouchsafed to the world. The day is the Feast of St. Peter in our Calendar, and it is usually called St. Peter’s Day at Rome, the Apostle to the Gentiles having been associated only to disappear. The day is on this occasion to be observed as a day of days, and the era of a new revelation. Fireworks, illuminations, transparencies, triumphal arches, and all that taste and money can do to demonstrate and delight, are already in hand, and, whoever the guests, the marriage feast is in preparation. . . . An extraordinary effort is to be made. Rome is to excel herself in her mimic meteors, her artistic transfigurations, her new heavens and new earths, her angelic radiance, her divine glories, and infernal horrors.

If the Council has been chary of its utterances and coy in its appearances, that will be made up by explosions and spectacles of a more intelligible character. We can promise that it will be worth many miles of excursion trains to go and see. The Campagna will be deserted, that all the Pope's temporal lieges may be there in their picturesque costumes. They and the astonished strangers will there see with their own eyes the Pope of Rome, the actual successor of St. Peter, invested with absolute authority over all souls, hearts, and minds. They will see him welcoming the faithful "*Placets*," and consigning the "*Non-Placets*" to the flames of a Tartarean abyss. They will see hideous forms, snakes, dragons, hydras, centipedes, toads, and nondescript monsters under the feet, or the lance, or the thunderbolt of conquering Rome; and they will not fail to recognise in them the Church of England, the Protestant communities, and the German philosophers. It will be a grand day, and great things will be done on that 29th of June. We will not believe it possible that a single mishap will disturb the sacred programme—that the lightnings may miss their aim, or the Powers of Darkness prevail. We cannot doubt all will go off well, for the simple reason that all is ready and forecasted, down to the very Dogma. Artists of surpassing skill and taste are working hard on the upholstery of the Divine manifestation, not knowing whether to think it a blasphemy or a good joke. It is their poverty and not their will that consents to the task. As we see the illuminations expiring, the Roman candles lost in smoke,

and the exhibitors taking the old properties back to the vast magazines of Rome, we cannot help thinking of the poor fathers put off with glare and noise in place of conviction or peace of mind. Think of poor MacHale exhausting in vain his logic, his learning, and his powerful style, and taking back to his poor flock on the Atlantic shore a strange story of Chinese lanterns, fiery bouquets, showers of gold, and transparencies more striking even than the illustrations of our prophetic almanacks.'

When it is borne in mind that the definition of the Infallibility of the Head of the Christian Church is a subject of deep religious faith to the most cultivated nations of the world, and that a fifth part of the population of our three kingdoms was profoundly interested in the subject, I shall not refrain from saying that this article from the leading newspaper of England has as little decency as truth.

I will now endeavour briefly to sketch the outline of the Council as viewed from within. As I was enabled to attend, with the exception of about three or four days, every Session of the Council, eighty-nine in number, from the opening to the close, I can give testimony, not upon hearsay, but as a personal witness of what I narrate.

Cardinal Pallavicini, after relating the contests and jealousies of the Orators of Catholic States assembled in the Council of Trent, goes on to say that to convoke a General Council, except when absolutely demanded by necessity, is to tempt God.* I well

* Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. xvi. c. 10, tom. ii. p. 800. Antwerp, 1670.

remember, at the time of the centenary of St. Peter's Martyrdom, when the Holy Father first announced his intention to convene the General Council, one of the oldest and most experienced of foreign diplomatsists expressed to me his great alarm. He predicted exactly what came to pass in the beginning of the Council. His diplomatic foresight fully appreciated the political dangers. They were certainly obvious and grave; for no one perhaps, at that time, could anticipate the majestic unity and firmness of the Council, which exceeded all hopes, and has effectually dispelled all fears.

For three hundred years, the Church dispersed throughout the world has been in contact with the corrupt civilisation of old Catholic countries, and with the anti-Catholic civilisation of countries in open schism. The intellectual traditions of nearly all nations have been departing steadily from the unity of the Faith and of the Church. In most countries, public opinion has become formally hostile to the Catholic religion. The minds of Catholics have been much affected by the atmosphere in which they live. It was to be feared and to be expected that the Bishops of all the world, differing so widely in race, political institutions, and intellectual habits, might have imported into the Council elements of divergence, if not of irreconcilable division. Some had indeed met before, at the Canonizations of 1862 or 1867: but for the most part the Bishops met for the first time. The Pastors of some thirty nations were there, bringing together every variety of mental and social culture and experience: but in the midst of this variety there

reigned a perfect identity of faith. On this, three centuries of separation and divergence in all things of the natural order, had produced no effect. Nothing but the Church of God alone could have lived on immutable through three hundred years of perpetual changes, and under the most potent influences of the world. Nothing has ever more luminously exhibited the supernatural endowments of the Church than the Council of the Vatican. In these three centuries it had passed through revolutions which have dissolved empires, laws, opinions. But the Episcopate of the Catholic Church met again last December in Rome, as it met in Trent, Lyons, or Nicæa. At once it proceeded to its work; and began as if by instinct, or by the prompt facility of an imperishable experience, to define doctrines of faith and to decree laws of discipline. Such unity of mind and will is above the conditions of human infirmity; it can be traced to one power and guidance alone, the supernatural assistance of the Spirit of Truth, by Whom the Church of God is perpetually sustained in the light and unity of faith.

To those who were within the Council, this became, day by day, almost evident to sense. It was no diminution from this, that a certain number were found who were of opinion that it was inopportune to define the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. This was a question of prudence, policy, expedience; not of doctrine or of truth. It was thus that the Church was united twenty years ago in the belief of the Immaculate Conception, while some were still to be found who doubted the prudence of defining it. Setting aside

this one question of opportuneness, there was not in the Council of the Vatican a difference of any gravity, and certainly no difference whatsoever on any doctrine of faith. I have never been able to hear of five Bishops who denied the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Almost all previous Councils were distracted by divisions, if not by heresy. Here no heresy existed. The question of opportunity was altogether subordinate and free. It may truly be affirmed that never was there a greater unanimity than in the Vatican Council. Of this the world had a first evidence in the unanimous vote by which the first Constitution on Faith was affirmed on the 24th of April.

I should hardly have spoken of the outward conduct of the Council, if I had not seen, with surprise and indignation, statements purporting to be descriptions of scenes of violence and disorder in the course of its discussions. Having from my earliest remembrance been a witness of public assemblies of all kinds, and especially of those among ourselves, which for gravity and dignity are supposed to exceed all others, I am able and bound to say that I have never seen such calmness, self-respect, mutual forbearance, courtesy and self-control, as in the eighty-nine sessions of the Vatican Council. In a period of nine months, the Cardinal President was compelled to recall the speakers to order perhaps twelve or fourteen times. In any other assembly they would have been inexorably recalled to the question sevenfold oftener and sooner. Nothing could exceed the consideration and respect with which this duty was discharged. Occasionally murmurs of dissent were audible; now and then a

comment may have been made aloud. In a very few instances, and those happily of an exceptional kind, expressions of strong disapproval and of exhausted patience at length escaped. But the descriptions of violence, outcries, menace, denunciation, and even of personal collisions, with which certain newspapers deceived the world, I can affirm to be calumnious falsehoods, fabricated to bring the Council into odium and contempt. That such has been the aim and intent of certain journals and their correspondents is undeniable. They at first endeavoured to write it down; but an Œcumenical Council cannot be written down. Next, they endeavoured to treat it with ridicule; but an Œcumenical Council cannot be made ridiculous. The good sense of the world forbids it. But it may be made odious and hateful; and thereby the minds of men may be not only turned from it, but even turned against it. For this in every way the anti-Catholic world has laboured; and no better plan could be found than to describe its sessions as scenes of indecent clamour and personal violence, unworthy even in laymen, criminal in Bishops of the Church. I have read descriptions of scenes of which I was a personal witness, so absolutely contrary to fact and truth, that I cannot acquit the anonymous writer on the plea of error. The animus was manifest, and its effect has been and will be to poison a multitude of minds which the truth will never reach.

It has been loudly declared, that a tyrannical majority deprived the minority of liberty of discussion.

Now it is hard to believe this allegation to be sincere, for many reasons.

First, there was only one rule for both majority and minority. If either were deprived of liberty, both were; if both were, it might be unwise, it could not be unjust; but if both were not, then neither. The majority spontaneously and freely imposed upon itself the same conditions it accepted for all.

But secondly, the mode of conducting the discussions afforded the amplest liberty of debate.

The subject matter was distributed in print to every Bishop, and a period of eight or ten days was given for any observations they might desire to make in writing.

These observations were carefully examined by the deputation of twenty-four; and when found to be pertinent were admitted, either to modify or to reform the original Schema.

The text so amended was then proposed for the general discussion, on which every Bishop in the Council had a free right to speak, and the discussions lasted so long as any Bishop was pleased to inscribe his name.

The only limit upon this freedom of discussion consisted in the power of the Presidents, on the petition of ten Bishops, to interrogate the Council whether it desired the discussion to be prolonged. The Presidents had no power to close the discussion. The Council alone could put an end to it. This right is essential to every deliberative assembly; which has a two-fold liberty, the one, to listen as long as it shall see fit; the other, to refuse to listen when it shall judge that a subject has been sufficiently discussed. To deny this liberty to the Council is to claim for

individuals the liberty to force the Council to listen as long as they are pleased either to waste its time or to obstruct its judgment. In political assemblies, the house puts an end to debates by a peremptory and inexorable cry of 'question' or 'divide.' The assemblies of the Church are of another temper. But they are not deprived of the same essential rights; and by a free vote they may decide either to listen, or not to listen, as the judgment of the Council shall see fit. To deny this is to deny the liberty of the Council; and under the pretext of liberty to claim a tyranny for the few over the will of the many.*

Obvious as is this liberty and right of the Council to close its discussions when it shall see fit, there exists only one example on record in which it did so. With exemplary patience it listened to what the House of Commons would have pronounced to be interminable discussions and interminable speeches. On the general discussion of the Schema *De Romano Pontifice* some eighty

* I cannot help here marking a historical parallel. Those who had been invoking the anti-Catholic public opinion, and even the civil governments of all countries, to control the Holy See and the Council, complained of oppression and the violation of their liberty.

When Napoleon held Pius VII. prisoner at Fontainebleau, and by every form of threat and influence had deprived him of liberty, the following warning was given by Colonel Lagorse to Cardinal Pacca, then in attendance on the Pope: 'That the Emperor was displeased with the Cardinals, for having, ever since their arrival at Fontainebleau, continually restricted the Pope from a condition of free agency; that provided they were desirous of remaining at Fontainebleau, they must abstain from all manner of interference in matters of business. . . . Failing in the above conditions, they would expose themselves to the hazard of losing their liberty.'—*Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca*, vol. ii. p. 192.

Bishops had spoken. Of these, nearly half were of what the newspapers called the Opposition ; but the proportion of the Opposition to the Council was not more than one sixth. They had therefore been heard as three to six. But further, there still remained the special discussion on the Proœmium and the four chapters; that is to say, five distinct discussions still remained, in which every Bishop of the six or seven hundred in the Council would, therefore, have a right to speak five times. Most reasonably, then, the Council closed the general discussion, leaving to the Bishops still their undiminished right, if they saw fit, still to speak five times. No one but those who desired the discussion never to end, that is, who desired to render the definition impossible by speaking against time, could complain of this most just exercise of its liberty on the part of the Council. I can conscientiously declare, that long before the general discussion was closed, all general arguments were exhausted. The special discussion of details also had been to such an extent anticipated, that nothing new was heard for days. The repetition became hard to bear. Then, and not till then, the President, at the petition not of ten, but of a hundred and fifty Bishops at least, interrogated the Council whether it desired to prolong or to close the general discussion. By an overwhelming majority it was closed. When this was closed, still, as I have said, five distinct discussions commenced; and were continued so long as any one was to be found desirous to speak. Finally, for the fifth or last discussion, a hundred and twenty inscribed their names to speak. Fifty at least were heard,

until on both sides the burden became too heavy to bear; and, by mutual consent, an useless and endless discussion, from sheer exhaustion, ceased.

So much for the material liberty of the Council. Of the moral liberty it will be enough to say, that the short-hand writers have laid up in its Archives a record of discourses which will show that the liberty of thought and speech was perfectly unchecked. If they were published to the world, the accusation would not be of undue repression. The wonder would be, not that the Opposition failed of its object, but that the Council so long held its peace. Certain Bishops of the freest country in the world said truly: 'The liberty of our Congress is not greater than the liberty of the Council.' When it is borne in mind that out of more than six hundred Bishops, one hundred, at the utmost, were in opposition to their brethren, it seems hardly sincere to talk of the want of liberty. There was but one liberty of which this sixth part of the Council was deprived, a liberty they certainly would be the last to desire, namely, that of destroying the liberty of the other five. The Council bore long with this truthless accusation of politicians, newspapers, and anonymous writers; and never till the last day, when the work in hand was finally complete, except only the voting of the public session, took cognisance of this mendacious pretence. On the 16th of July, after the last votes had been given, and the first Constitution *De Ecclesia Christi* had been finally approved, then for the first time it turned its attention to this attempt upon its authority. Two calumnious libels on the Council had appeared; the one entitled,

Ce qui se passe au Concile, the other, *La dernière heure du Concile*: in both, the liberty of the Vatican Council was denied, with a view to denying its authority. The General Congregation by an immense majority adopted the following protest, and condemned these two slanderous pamphlets, thereby placing on record a spontaneous declaration of the absolute freedom of the Council.

‘ MOST REVEREND FATHERS,

‘ From the time that the Holy Vatican Synod opened by the help of God, a most bitter warfare instantly broke out against it; and in order to diminish its venerable authority with the faithful, and, if it could be, to destroy it altogether, many writers vied with each other in attacking it by contumelious detraction, and by the foulest calumnies; and that, not only among the heterodox and open enemies of the Cross of Christ, but also among those who give themselves out as sons of the Catholic Church; and what is most to be deplored, among even its sacred ministers.

‘ The infamous falsehoods which have been heaped together in this matter in public newspapers of every tongue, and in pamphlets without the author’s name, published in all places and stealthily distributed, all men well know; so that we have no need to recount them one by one. But among anonymous pamphlets of this kind there are two especially, written in French, and entitled, *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, and *La dernière heure du Concile*, which for the arts of calumny and the license of detraction bear away

the palm from all others. For in these not only is the dignity and full liberty of the Council assailed with the basest falsehoods, and the rights of the Holy See overthrown, but even the august person of our Holy Father is attacked with the gravest insults. Wherefore we, being mindful of our office, lest our silence if longer maintained, should be perversely interpreted by men of evil will, are compelled to lift up our voice, and before you all, Most Reverend Fathers, to protest and to declare all such things as have been uttered in the aforesaid newspapers and pamphlets to be altogether false and calumnious, whether in contempt of our Holy Father and of the Apostolic See, or the dishonour of this Holy Synod, and on the score of its asserted want of legitimate liberty.

‘From the Hall of the Council, the 16th day of July, 1870.

‘PHILIP, CARDINAL DE ANGELIS, *President*.

‘ANTONINUS, CARDINAL DE LUCA.

‘ANDREAS, CARDINAL BIZZARI.

‘ALOYSIUS, CARDINAL BILIO.

‘HANNIBAL, CARDINAL CAPALTI.’*

We have thus carried down our narrative to the eve of the Definition, and with one or two general remarks I will conclude this part of the subject.

A strange accusation has been brought against the Council of the Vatican, or, to speak more truly, against the Head of the Church, who summoned it; namely, that its one object was to define the Infallibility of

* See Appendix, p. 181.

the Pope. With the knowledge I have, in common with a large part of the Episcopate, I am able to give to this a direct denial. But this denial is not given as if the admission of the charge would be in any way inconsistent with the wisdom, dignity, or duty of the Council. It is simply untrue in fact. Even though it were true, I should have no hesitation in undertaking to show that the Council, if it had been assembled chiefly to define the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, would have been acting in strict analogy with the practice of the Church in the eighteen Œcumenical Councils already held.

Each several Council was convened to extinguish the chief heresy, or to correct the chief evil, of the time. And I do not hesitate to affirm that the denial of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was the chief intellectual or doctrinal error as to faith, not to call it more than proximate to heresy, of our times.

It was so, because it struck at the certainty of the pontifical acts of the last three hundred years ; and weakened the effect of pontifical acts at this day over the intellect and conscience of the faithful. It kept alive a dangerous controversy on the subject of Infallibility altogether, and exposed even the Infallibility of the Church itself to difficulties not easy to solve. As an apparently open or disputable point, close to the very root of faith, it exposed even the faith itself to the reach of doubts.

Next, practically, it was mischievous beyond measure. The divisions and contentions of ' Gallicanism ' and ' Ultramontanism ' have been a scandal and a

shame to us. Protestants and unbelievers have been kept from the truth by our intestine controversies, especially upon a point so high and so intimately connected with the whole doctrinal authority of the Church.

Again, morally, the division and contention on this point, supposed to be open, has generated more alienation, bitterness, and animosity between Pastors and people, and what is worse, between Pastor and Pastor, than any other in our day. Our internal contests proclaimed by Protestant newspapers, and, worse than all, by Catholic also, have been a reproach to us before the whole world.

It was high time to put an end to this; and if the Council had been convened for no other purpose, this cause would have been abundantly sufficient; if it had defined the Infallibility at its outset, it would not have been an hour too soon; and perhaps it would have averted many a scandal we now deplore. But this last I say with submission, for the times and seasons of a Council are put in a power above our reach.

In the midst of all these graver events and cares, there were, now and then, some things which gave rise to hearty, and I hope harmless, amusement. Of these, one was what may be called the panic fear lest the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope should suddenly be carried by acclamation; and the amusing self-gratulation of those who imagined that with great dexterity and address they had defeated this intention. The acclamation, like the rising of a conspiracy, was to have taken place first on one day, then, being

frustrated, on another. The Feast of the Epiphany was named, then the Feast of St. Joseph, then the Feast of the Annunciation. But by the masterly tactics of certain leaders, this conspiracy could never accomplish itself. Janus first announced the discovery of the plot. The minds of men from that time, it seems, were haunted with it. They lived in perpetual alarm. They were never safe, they tell us, from a surprise which would create an article of faith before they could protest. I refrain, out of respect, from naming the distinguished prelates of whom our anonymous teachers speak so freely, when they affirm that at the first general congregation Papal Infallibility was to be carried by acclamation, but that 'the scheme was foiled by the tact and firmness of' such an one: and that 'a similar attempt was projected for a later day (March 19), when the prompt action of four American prelates again frustrated the design.'*

Now the truth is, that nobody, so far as my knowledge reaches, and I believe I may speak with certainty, ever for a moment dreamed of this definition by acclamation. All whom I have ever heard speak of these rumours were unfeignedly amused at them. The last men in the Council who would have desired or consented to an acclamation were those to whom it was imputed; and that for a reason as clear as day. They had no desire for acclamations, because acclamations define nothing. They had already had enough of acclamations in the Council of Chalcedon, which cried unanimously, 'Peter hath spoken by

* *Saturday Review*, Aug. 2, 1870.

Leo ;' and in the Council of Constantinople which acclaimed, 'Peter hath spoken by Agatho;' and in the address of the five hundred Bishops at the centenary of St. Peter in 1867, in which they unanimously declared that 'Peter had spoken by Pius:' for they well knew that many, even of those who joined most loudly in that acclamation, denied that these words ascribe infallibility to the Successor of Peter. Experience therefore proved, even if theology long ago had not, that an acclamation is not a definition; and that an acclamation leaves the matter as it found it, as disputable after as it was before. Nothing short of a definition would satisfy either reason or conscience; and nothing but this was ever for a moment thought of.

Such, then, is a slight outline of the internal history of this protracted contest. It passed through nine distinct phases: and it must be confessed that they who desired to avert the definition held their successive positions with no little tenacity.

The first attack came from the World without, in support of a handful of professors and writers, who denied the truth of the doctrine: the second position was to admit its truth but to deny that it was capable of being defined: the third, to admit that it was definable, but to deny the opportuneness of defining it: the fourth, to resist the introduction of the doctrine for discussion: the fifth, to render discussion impossible by delay: the sixth, to protract the discussion till a conclusion should become physically impossible before the summer heats drove the Council to disperse: the seventh, when the discussion closed, to

defer the definition to the future: the eighth, after the definition was made, to hinder its promulgation: the ninth—I will not say the last, for who can tell what may still come?—to affirm that the definition, though solemnly made, confirmed, and published by the Head of the Church in the Œcumenical Council, and promulgated *urbi et orbi* according to the traditional usage of the Church, does not bind the conscience of the faithful till the Council is concluded, and subscribed by the Bishops.

This last is the only remnant of the controversy now surviving. I can hardly believe that any one, after the letter of Cardinal Antonelli to the Nunzio at Brussels, can persist in this error. Nevertheless it may be well to add one or two words, which you will anticipate, and well know how to use.

1. A definition of faith declares that a doctrine was revealed by God.

Are the faithful, then, dispensed from believing Divine revelation till the Council is concluded, and the Bishops have subscribed it?

I hope, for the sake of the Catholic religion in the face of the English people, that we shall hear no more of an assertion so uncatholic and so dangerous.

2. But perhaps it may mean that the Council is not yet confirmed, because not yet concluded.

The Council may not yet be confirmed because not yet concluded; but the Definition is both concluded and confirmed.

The Council is as completely confirmed, in its acts hitherto taken, as it ever will or can be. The future confirmation will not add anything to that which is

confirmed already. It will confirm future acts, not those which are already perfect.

3. But perhaps some may have an idea that the question is not yet closed, and that the Council may hereafter undo what it has done. We have been told that 'Its decrees may have to be corrected,' and that two years elapsed before the Œcumenical pretensions of the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus were formally superseded. Some have called it 'Ludibrium Vaticanum.'

Let those who so speak, or think, for many so speak without thinking, look to their faith. The past acts of the Council are infallible. No future acts will retouch them. This is the meaning of 'irreformable.' Infallibility does not return upon its own steps. And they who suspend their assent to its acts on the plea that the Council is not concluded, are in danger of falling from the faith. They who reject the Definitions of the Vatican Council are already in heresy.

CHAPTER II.

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS.

HAVING so far spoken on the less pleasing and less vital part of this subject, I gladly turn to the authoritative acts of the Council.

The subject matter of its deliberations was divided into four parts, and for each part a Deputation of twenty-four Fathers was elected by the Council. The four divisions were, on Faith, Discipline, Religious Orders, and on Rites, including the Missions of the Church.

Hitherto, the subjects of Faith and Discipline alone have come before the Council; and of these two chiefly the first has been treated, as being the basis of all, and in its nature the most important.

In what I have to add, I shall confine myself to the two Dogmatic Constitutions, *De Fide* and *De Ecclesia Christi*.*

The history of the Faith cannot be adequately written without writing both the history of heresy and the history of definitions; for heresies are partial aberrations from the truth, and definitions are rectifications of those partial errors. But the Faith is co-extensive with the whole Revelation of Truth; and

* See Appendix, p. 182, etc.

though every revealed truth is definite and precise, nevertheless, all are not defined. The need of definition arises when any revealed truth has been obscured or denied. The general history of the Church will therefore give the general history of the Faith; but the history of Councils will give chiefly, if not only, the history of those parts of revelation which have been assailed by heresy and protected by definition.

The Divine Tradition of the Church contains truths of the supernatural order which without revelation could not have been known to man, such as the Incarnation of God and the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and truths of the natural order which are known also by reason, such as the existence of God. The circumference of this Divine Tradition is far wider than the range of definitions. The Church guards, teaches, and transmits the whole divine tradition of natural and supernatural truth, but defines only those parts of the deposit which have been obscured or denied.

The eighteen Œcumenical Councils of the Church have therefore defined such specific doctrines of the Faith as were contested. The Council of the Vatican has, for this reason, treated of two primary truths greatly contested but never hitherto defined: namely, the Supernatural order and the Church. It is this which will fix the character of the Vatican Council, and will mark in history the progress of error in the Christian world at this day.

The series of heresy has followed the order of the Baptismal Creed. It began by assailing the nature and unity of God the Creator; then of the Redeemer;

then the doctrine of the Incarnation, of the Godhead and the Manhood of the Son of God; then of the Holy Trinity, and of the personality and Godhead of the Holy Ghost. To these succeeded controversies on sin, grace, and the Holy Sacraments; finally the heresies of the so-called Reformation, which spread over what remained unassailed in the Catholic Theology, especially the Divine authority and the institution of the Church itself. The Councils before Trent have completely guarded all doctrines of faith hitherto contested, by precise definition, excepting only the two primary and preliminary truths anterior to all doctrine, namely, the revelation of the supernatural order and the Divine authority and institution of the Church. To affirm and to define these seems to be, as I said, the mission and character of the Vatican Council, and indicates the state of the Christian world; because in the last three hundred years the rapid development of the rationalistic principle of Protestantism has swept away all intermediate systems and fragmentary Christianities. The question is reduced to a simple choice of faith and unbelief, or, of the natural or the supernatural order.

This then is the starting-point of the first dogmatic Constitution, *De Fide Catholica*.

In the Proœmium, the Council declares that none can fail to know how the heresies condemned at Trent have been subdivided into a multitude of contending sects, whereby Faith in Christ has been overthrown in many; and the Sacred Scriptures, which at first were avowedly held to be the source and rule of faith, are now reputed as fables. The cause of this it declares

to be, the rejection of the Divine authority of the Church, and the license of private judgment.

‘Then sprang up,’ it goes on to say, ‘and was widely spread throughout the world, the doctrine of rationalism or naturalism, which opposing itself altogether to Christianity as a supernatural institution, studiously labours to exclude Christ, our only Lord and Saviour, from the minds of men and from the life and morality of nations, and to set up the dominion of what they call pure reason and nature. After forsaking and rejecting the Christian religion, and denying the true God and His Christ, the minds of many have lapsed at length into the depth of pantheism, materialism, and atheism, so that, denying the rational nature of man, and all law of justice and of right, they are striving together to destroy the very foundations of human society.

‘While this impiety spreads on every side, it miserably comes to pass, that many even of the sons of the Catholic Church have wandered from the way of piety, and while truth in them has wasted away, the Catholic instinct has become feeble. For, led astray by many and strange doctrines, they have recklessly confused together nature and grace, human science, and divine faith, so as to deprave the genuine sense of dogmas which the Holy Church our Mother holds and teaches; and have brought into danger the integrity and purity of the Faith.’

Such is the estimate of the condition of the Christian world in the judgment of the Vatican Council; and from this point of sight we may appreciate its decrees.

Its first chapter is of God the Creator of all things.* In this is decreed the personality, spirituality, and liberty of God, the creation of corporeal and of spiritual beings, and the existence of body and soul in man. These truths may be thought so primary and undeniable as to need no definition. To some it may be hardly credible that, at this day, there should exist men who deny the existence of God, or His personality, or His nature distinct from the world, or the existence of spiritual beings, or the creation of the world, or the liberty of the Divine will in creation. But such errors have existed and do exist, not only in obscure and incoherent minds, but in intellects of power and cultivation, and in philosophies of elaborate subtilty, by which the faith of many has been undermined.

The second Chapter is on Revelation. It affirms the existence of two orders of truth: the order of nature, in which the existence of God as the beginning and end of creatures may be certainly known by the things which He has made; and the order which is above created nature, that is, God and His action by truth and grace upon mankind. The communication of supernatural truth to man is revelation; and that revelation is contained in the Word of God written and unwritten, or in the divine tradition committed to the Church. These truths, elementary and certain as they seem, have been and are denied by errors of a contradictory kind. By some it is denied that God can be known by the light of reason; by others

* The text of the Constitutions will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.

it is affirmed not only that God may be known by the light of reason, but that no revelation is necessary for man ; once more, others deny that man can be elevated to a supernatural knowledge and perfection ; again, others affirm that he can attain to all truth and goodness of and from himself. These errors also are widespread ; and in the multifarious literature which Catholics incautiously admit into their homes and minds, have made havoc of the faith of many.

The third Chapter is on Faith. It may be truly said, that in this chapter every word is directed against some intellectual aberration of this century.

It affirms the dependence of the created intelligence upon the uncreated, and that this dependence is by the free obedience of faith ; or, in other words, that inasmuch as God reveals to man truths of the supernatural order, man is bound to believe that revelation by reason of the authority or veracity of God, who can neither deceive nor be deceived. The infallibility of God is the motive of faith. And this faith, though it be not formed in us by perceiving the intrinsic credibility of what we believe, but by the veracity of God, nevertheless is a rational or intellectual act, the highest and most normal in its nature. For no act of the reason can be more in harmony with its nature than to believe the Word of God. To assure mankind that it is God who speaks, God has given to man signs and evidences of His revelation, which exclude reasonable doubt. The act of faith therefore is not a blind act, but an exercise of the highest reason. It is also an act not of necessity

but of perfect freedom, and therefore in itself an act of normal obedience to God, and meritorious in its nature. And this act of faith, in which both the intellect and the will have their full and normal exercise, is nevertheless an act not of the natural order, but of the supernatural, and springs from the preventing grace of the Holy Spirit, Who illuminates the intelligence and moves the will. Faith is therefore a gift of God, and a moral duty which may be required of us by the commandment of God.

But inasmuch as the grace of faith is given to man that he may believe the revelation of God, it is co-extensive with that whole revelation. Whatsoever God has revealed, man, when he knows it, is bound to believe. But God has made provision that man should know His revelation, because He has committed it to His Church as the guardian and teacher of truth. Whatsoever, therefore, the Church proposes to our belief as the Word of God, written or unwritten, whether by its ordinary and universal teaching, or by its solemn judgment and definition, we are bound to believe by divine and Catholic faith.

To this end, God has instituted in the world His visible Church, one, universal, indefectible, immutable, ever multiplying; the living witness of the Incarnation, and the sufficient evidence of its own mission to the world. The maximum of extrinsic evidence for the revelation of Christianity is the witness of the Church, considered even as an historical proof; and that extrinsic evidence is not only sufficient to convince a rational nature that Christianity is a Divine revelation, but to convict of

unreasonable unbelief any intelligence which shall reject its testimony. But the visible Church is not merely a human witness. It was instituted and is guided perpetually by God Himself, and is therefore a divine witness, ordained by God as the infallible motive of credibility, and the channel of His revelation to mankind.

I need hardly point out what errors are excluded by these definitions. The whole world outside the Catholic Church is full of doctrines diametrically contrary to these truths. It is affirmed that the reason of man is so independent of God, that He cannot justly lay upon it the obligation of faith; again, that faith and science are so identified that they have the same motives, and that there is neither need nor place in our convictions for the authority of God; again, that extrinsic evidence is of no weight, because men ought to believe only on their own internal experience or private inspiration; again, that all miracles are myths, and all supernatural evidences useless, because intrinsically incredible; once more, that we can only believe that of which we have scientific proof, and that it is lawful for us to call into doubt the articles of our faith when and as often as we will, and to submit them to a scientific analysis, in the meanwhile suspending our faith until we shall have completed the scientific demonstration.

The fourth and last Chapter is on the relation of faith to reason. In this three things are declared: first, that there are two orders of knowledge; secondly, that they differ as to their object; thirdly, that they differ as to their methods of procedure.

The order of nature contains the subject-matter of natural religion and of natural science. The order of faith contains truths which without revelation we might have known, though not certainly nor easily; and also truths which, without revelation, we could not have known. Such then are the two objects of reason and of faith. The two methods of procedure likewise differ, inasmuch as in the order of nature the instrument of knowledge is discovery; in the supernatural order, it is faith, and the intellectual processes which spring from faith.

From these principles it is clear that science and faith can never be in real contradiction. All seeming opposition can only be either from error as to the doctrine of the Church, or error in the assumptions of science. Every assertion, therefore, contrary to the truth of an illuminated faith, is false. 'For the Church, which, together with the Apostolic office of teaching, received also the command to guard the deposit of faith, is divinely invested with the right and duty of proscribing science falsely so-called, lest any man be deceived by philosophy and vain deceit.' 'For the doctrine of Faith which God has revealed, was not proposed to the minds of men to be brought to perfection like an invention of philosophy, but was delivered to the Spouse of Christ as a divine deposit to be faithfully guarded, and to be *infallibly* declared.'

The importance of this first Constitution on Catholic Faith cannot be over-estimated, and, from its great breadth, may not as yet be fully perceived.

It is the broadest and boldest affirmation of the

supernatural and spiritual order ever yet made in the face of the world ; which is now, more than ever, sunk in sense and heavy with materialism. It declares that a whole order of being and power, of truth and agency, exists, and is in full play upon the world of sense. More than this, that this supernatural and spiritual order is present in the world, and is incorporated in a visible and palpable form, over which the world has no authority. That God and His operations are sensible ; visible to the eye, and audible to the ear. That they appeal to the reason of man ; and that men are irrational, and therefore act both imprudently and immorally, if they do not listen to, and believe in the Word of God. It affirms also, as a doctrine of revelation, that the visible Church is the great motive of credibility to faith, and that it is ‘ the irrefragable testimony of its own divine legation.’ It moreover asserts that the Church has a divine commission to guard the deposit of revelation, and ‘ a divine right to proscribe errors of philosophy and vain deceit,’ that is, all intellectual aberrations at variance with the deposit of revelation. Finally, it affirms that the Church has a divine office to declare *infallibly* the deposit of truth.

I am not aware that in any previous Œcumenical Council the doctrine of the Church, and of its divine and infallible authority, has been so explicitly defined. And yet the Council of the Vatican was not at that time engaged upon the *Schema De Ecclesia*, which still remains to be treated hereafter. It was not however without a providential guidance that the first Constitution on Catholic Faith was so shaped, espe-

cially in its closing chapter. Neither is it without a great significance that at its conclusion was appended a *Monitum*, in which the Roman Pontiff by his supreme authority, enjoins all the faithful, Pastors and people, to drive away all errors contrary to the purity of the faith; and moreover warns Christians that it is not enough to reject positive heresies, but that all errors which more or less approach to heresy must be avoided; and all erroneous opinions which are proscribed and prohibited by the Constitutions and decrees of the Holy See.

When these words were written, it was not foreseen that they were a preparation, unconsciously made, for the definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. If the first Constitution had been designedly framed as an introduction, it could hardly have been more opportunely worded. It begins with God and His revelation; it closes with the witness and office of the Visible Church, and with the supreme authority of its Head. The next truth demanded by the intrinsic relations of doctrine was the divine endowment of infallibility. And when treated, this doctrine was, contrary to all expectation, and to all likelihood, presented first to the Council, and by the Council to the world, in the person and office of the Head of the Church.

In all theological treatises, excepting indeed one or two of great authority, it had been usual to treat of the Body of the Church before treating of its Head. The reason of this would appear to be, that in the exposition of doctrine the logical order was the more obvious; and to the faithful, in the first forma-

tion of the Church, the body of the Church was known before its Head. We might have expected that the Council would have followed the same method. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the Council inverted that order, and defined the prerogative of the Head before it treated of the Constitution and endowments of the Body. And this, which was brought about by the pressure of special events, is not without significance. The Schools of the Church have followed the logical order: but the Church in Council, when for the first time it began to treat of its own constitution and authority, changed the method, and, like the Divine Architect of the Church, began in the historical order, with the foundation and Head of the Church. Our Divine Lord first chose Cephas, and invested him with the primacy over the Apostles. Upon this Rock all were built, and from him the whole unity and authority of the Church took its rise. To Peter alone first was given the plenitude of jurisdiction and of infallible authority. Afterwards, the gift of the Holy Ghost was shared with him by all the Apostles. From him and through him, therefore, all began. For which cause a clear and precise conception of his primacy and privilege is necessary to a clear and precise conception of the Church. Unless it be first distinctly apprehended, the doctrine of the Church will be always proportionally obscure. The doctrine of the Church does not determine the doctrine of the Primacy, but the doctrine of the Primacy does precisely determine the doctrine of the Church. In beginning therefore with the Head, the Council has followed our Lord's example, both in teaching and in

fact; and in this will be found one of the causes of the singular and luminous precision with which the Council of the Vatican has, in one brief Constitution, excluded the traditional errors on the Primacy and Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

The reasons which prevailed to bring about this change of method were not only those which demonstrated generally the opportuneness of defining the doctrine, but those also which showed specially the necessity of bringing on the question while as yet the Council was in the fulness of its numbers. It was obvious that the length of time consumed in the discussion, reformation, and voting of the *schemata* was such, that unless the Constitution *De Romano Pontifice* were brought on immediately after Easter, it could not be finished before the setting in of summer should compel the Bishops to disperse. . Once dispersed, it was obvious they could never again re-assemble in so large a number. Many who, with great earnestness, desired to share the blessing and the grace of extinguishing the most dangerous error which for two centuries has disturbed and divided the faithful, would have been compelled to go back to their distant sees and missions, never to return. It was obviously of the first moment that such a question should be discussed and decided, not, as we should have been told, in holes and corners, or by a handful of Bishops, or by a faction, or by a clique, but by the largest possible assembly of the Catholic Episcopate. All other questions, on which little divergence of opinion existed, might well be left to a smaller number of Bishops. But a doctrine which

for centuries had divided both Pastors and people, the defining of which was contested by a numerous and organised opposition, needed to be treated and affirmed by the most extensive deliberation of the Bishops of the Catholic Church. Add to this, the many perils which hung over the continuance of the Council; of which I need but give one example. The outbreak of a war might have rendered the definition impossible. And in fact, the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was defined on the eighteenth of July, and war was officially declared on the following day.

With these and many other contingencies fully before them, those who believed that the definition was not only opportune but necessary for the unity of the Church and of the Faith, urged its immediate discussion. Events justified their foresight. The debate was prolonged into the heats of July, when, by mutual consent, the opposing sides withdrew from a further prolonging of the contest, and closed the discussion. If it had not been already protracted beyond all limits of reasonable debate, for not less than a hundred fathers in the general and special discussions had spoken, chiefly if not alone, of infallibility, it could not so have ended.* Both sides were convinced that the matter was exhausted.

We will now examine, at least in outline, the first Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ; and I will then confine what I have to add to the definition of Infallibility; thereby completing a part of the

* During the session of the council 420 speeches were delivered, of which nearly one-fourth were on the Infallibility alone.

subject which in the two previous Pastorals it would have been premature to treat.

The Proœmium of the Constitution declares that the institution of the visible Church was ordained to preserve the twofold unity of faith and of communion, and that for this end one principle and foundation was laid in Peter.

The first Chapter declares the Primacy of Peter over the Apostles; and that his primacy was conferred on him immediately and directly by our Lord, and consists not only in honour but also in jurisdiction.

The second Chapter affirms this primacy of honour and jurisdiction to be perpetual in the Church; and that the Roman Pontiffs, as successors of Peter, inherit this primacy; whereby Peter always presides in his see, teaching and governing the Universal Church.

The third Chapter defines the nature of his jurisdiction, namely, '*totam plenitudinem hujus supremæ potestatis*,' the plenitude of power to feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church. It is therefore a jurisdiction episcopal, ordinary, and immediate over the whole Church, over both pastors and people, that is, over the whole Episcopate, collectively and singly, and over every particular church and diocese. The ordinary and immediate jurisdiction which every several Bishop in the Church exercises in the flock over which the Holy Ghost has placed him, is thereby sustained and strengthened.

From this Divine primacy three consequences follow: the one, that the Roman Pontiff is the supreme judge over all the Church, from whom lies no appeal; the second, that no power under God may come

between the chief pastor of the Church and any, from the highest to the humblest, member of the flock of Christ on earth; the third, that this supreme power or primacy is not made up of parts, as the sovereignty of constitutional states, but exists in its plenitude in the successor of Peter.*

The fourth and last Chapter defines the infallible doctrinal authority of the Roman Pontiff as the supreme teacher of all Christians.

The Chapter opens by affirming that to this supreme jurisdiction is attached a proportionate grace, whereby its exercise is directed and sustained.

This truth has been traditionally held and taught by the Holy See, by the *praxis* of the Church, and by the Œcumenical Councils, especially those in which the East and the West met in union together, as for instance the fourth of Constantinople, the second of Lyons, and the Council of Florence.

It is then declared, that in virtue of the promise of our Lord, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,' † a perpetual grace of stability in faith was divinely attached to Peter and to his successors in his See.

The definition then affirms 'that the Roman Pon-

* In order to fix this doctrine more exactly, and to exclude all possible equivocation, after full and ample and repeated discussion, the words 'aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem hujus supremæ potestatis,' were inserted in the Canon appended to this Chapter. I notice this, because it has been most untruly and most invidiously said, that these words were interpolated after the discussion. They were fully and amply discussed, and the proof of the fact exists in the short-hand report of the speeches, laid up in the Archives of the Council.

† St. Luke xxii. 31, 32.

tiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine, regarding faith and morals. And that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.'

In this definition there are six points to be noted.

1. First, it defines the meaning of the well-known phrase, *loquens ex cathedra*; that is, speaking from the Seat, or place, or with the authority of the supreme teacher of all Christians, and binding the assent of the Universal Church.

2. Secondly, the subject-matter of his infallible teaching, namely, the doctrine of faith and morals.

3. Thirdly, the efficient cause of infallibility, that is, the divine assistance promised to Peter, and in Peter to his successors.

4. Fourthly, the act to which this divine assistance is attached, namely, the defining of doctrines of faith and morals.

5. Fifthly, the extension of this infallible authority to the limits of the doctrinal office of the Church.

6. Lastly, the dogmatic value of the definitions *ex cathedra*, namely, that they are in themselves irreformable, because in themselves infallible, and not because the Church, or any part or member of the Church, should assent to them.

These six points contain the whole definition of Infallibility. I will therefore take them in order, and then answer certain objections.

I. First, the definition limits the infallibility of the Pontiff to the acts which emanate from him *ex cathedra*. This phrase, which has been long and commonly used by theologians, has now, for the first time, been adopted into the terminology of the Church; and in adopting it the Vatican Council fixes its meaning. The Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* when, and only when, he speaks as the Pastor and Doctor of all Christians. By this, all acts of the Pontiff as a private person, or a private doctor, or as a local Bishop, or as sovereign of a state, are excluded. In all these acts the Pontiff may be subject to error. In one and one only capacity he is exempt from error; that is, when, as teacher of the whole Church, he teaches the whole Church in things of faith and morals.

Our Lord declared, ‘Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribæ et Pharisei:’ the scribes and Pharisees sit in the chair of Moses. The seat or ‘cathedra’ of Moses signifies the authority and the doctrine of Moses; the *cathedra Petri* is in like manner the authority and doctrine of Peter. The former was binding by Divine command and under pain of sin, upon the people of God under the old law; the latter is binding by Divine command and under pain of sin, upon the people of God under the new.

I need not here draw out the traditional use of the term *cathedra Petri*, which in St. Cyprian, St. Optatus, and St. Augustine is employed as synonymous with the successor of Peter, and is used to

express the centre and test of Catholic unity. *Ex cathedra* is therefore equivalent to *ex cathedra Petri*, and distinguishes those acts of the successor of Peter which are done as supreme teacher of the whole Church.

The value of this phrase is great, inasmuch as it excludes all cavil and equivocation as to the acts of the Pontiff in any other capacity than that of Supreme Doctor of all Christians, and in any other subject-matter than the matters of faith and morals.

II. Secondly, the definition limits the range, or, to speak exactly, the object of infallibility, to the doctrine of faith and morals. It excludes therefore all other matter whatsoever.

The great commission or charter of the Church is, in the words of our Lord, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'*

In these words are contained five points.

1. First, the perpetuity and universality of the mission of the Church as the teacher of mankind.

2. Secondly, the deposit of the Truth and of the commandments, that is, of the Divine Faith and law entrusted to the Church.

3. Thirdly, the office of the Church, as the sole interpreter of the Faith and of the Law.

4. Fourthly, that it has the sole Divine jurisdiction existing upon earth, in matters of salvation, over the reason and the will of man.

* St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 20.

5. Fifthly, that in the discharge of this office our Lord is with His Church always, and to the consummation of the world.

The doctrine of faith, and the doctrine of morals are here explicitly described. The Church is infallible in this deposit of revelation.

And in this deposit are truths and morals both of the natural and of the supernatural order; for the religious truths and morals of the natural order are taken up into the revelation of the order of grace, and form a part of the object of infallibility.

1. The phrase, then, 'faith and morals' signifies the whole revelation of faith; the whole way of salvation through faith; or the whole supernatural order, with all that is essential to the sanctification and salvation of man through Jesus Christ.

Now, this formula is variously expressed by the Church and by theologians; but it always means one and the same thing.

The Second Council of Lyons says, 'if any questions arise concerning faith,' they are to be decided by the Roman Pontiff.*

The Council of Trent uses the formula 'in things of faith and morals, pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine.' †

Bellarmino says, 'in things which pertain to faith,' and again, 'The Roman Pontiff cannot err in faith;' and further he says, 'Not only in decrees of faith the

* 'Si quæ subortæ fuerint quæstiones de fide, suo (i.e. Rom. Pont.) debent judicio definiri.'—Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xiv. p. 512. Venice, 1731.

† 'In rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium.'—Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xx. p. 23.

Supreme Pontiff cannot err, but neither (can he err) in moral precepts which are enjoined on the whole Church, and which are conversant with things necessary to salvation, or with those which are in themselves good or evil.*

Gregory of Valentia says, 'Without any restriction it is to be said, that whatsoever the Pontiff determines in controverted matters which have respect to piety, he determines infallibly; when, as it has been stated, he obliges the whole Church;' and again, 'Whatsoever the Pontiff asserts in any controverted matter of religion, it is to be believed that he asserts infallibly by his Pontifical authority, that is, by Divine assistance.'†

Bannez proposes the thesis in these words: 'Can (the Roman Pontiff) err in defining matters of faith?'‡

S. Antoninus says, 'It is necessary to admit one head in the Church, to whom it belongs to clear up

* 'In his quæ *ad fidem pertinent.*' 'Pontifex Romanus non potest errare *in fide.*' 'Non solum in decretis fidei errare non potest Summus Pontifex, sed neque in præceptis morum, quæ toti Ecclesiæ præscribuntur, et quæ *in rebus necessariis ad salutem*, vel in iis quæ per se bona vel mala sunt, versantur.'—Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. iv. capp. iii. v. pp. 795, 804. Venice, 1599.

† 'Absque ulla restrictione dicendum est, quicquid Pontifex in rebus controversis *ad pietatem* spectantibus determinat, infallibiliter illum determinare, quando, ut expositum est, universam Ecclesiam obligat.' Greg. de Valentia, *Opp.* tom. iii. disp. i. qu. i. 'De Objecto Fidei,' punct. vii. s. 40, p. 312. Ingolstadt, 1595.

'Quæcumque Pontifex in aliqua re de religione controversa sic asserit, certa fide credendum est illum infallibiliter, utpote ex auctoritate Pontificia, i.e. ex Divina assistentia, asserere.'—Ibid. s. 39, p. 303.

‡ 'An possit in rebus fidei definiendis errare?'—*In Sum. S. Th.* Q. 2. q. 1. art. 10.

doubts concerning whatsoever relates to faith, whether speculative or practical.' *

Suarez says, 'It is a Catholic truth, that the Pontiff defining *ex cathedra* is a rule of faith which cannot err, whensoever he proposes authoritatively anything to be believed of faith to the whole Church.' †

And in his treatise 'De Religione,' tract. ix. l. 3, c. 4, n. 5, speaking of the Bull of Gregory XIII., 'Ascendente Domino,' by which it is declared that simple vows constitute a true religious state, he says that the truth of this definition is 'altogether infallible, so that it cannot be denied without error. The reason is, because the sentence of the Pontiff in things which pertain to doctrine contains infallible certainty by the institution and promise of Christ, "I have prayed for thee."' Afterwards he adds, 'The providence of Christ our Lord over His Church would be greatly diminished if He should permit His Vicar, in deciding such questions *ex cathedra*, to fall into error.' ‡

* 'Oportet enim in Ecclesia ponere unum caput, ad quod pertinet declarare illa quæ sunt dubia circa quæcumque ad fidem pertinentia, sive sint speculativa sive agibilia.'—*Summa Theol.* p. iii. tit. 22, c. 3.

† 'Veritas Catholica est Pontificem definientem ex cathedra esse regulam fidei, quæ errare non potest quando aliquid authentice proponit toti Ecclesiæ, tanquam de fide credendum.'—Suarez, *De Fide*, disp. v. sec. 8, tom. xiii. p. 94. Mentz, 1622.

‡ 'Omnino infallibilem, ita ut sine errore in fide negari non possit. Ratio est, quia sententia Pontificis in his quæ ad doctrinam pertinent, infallibilem continet certitudinem ex Christi institutione et permissione: "Ego rogavi pro te." . . . Valde autem diminuta fuisset Christi Domini providentia circa suam Ecclesiam si in decidendis talibus quæstionibus ex cathedra Vicarium suum labi permitteret.'—Id. *De Religione Soc. Jesu*, lib. iii. c. 4, n. 5, tom. xvii. p. 427.

Melchior Canus says, 'The Roman Pontiff succeeds by Divine right to Peter both in firmness of faith and in deciding controversies of religion;' and again, 'The Roman Pontiff in ending controversies of faith cannot err.' *

S. Alphonsus affirms, 'When the Pope speaks as universal Doctor, *ex cathedra*, that is, by the supreme authority to teach the Church, delivered to Peter, in deciding controversies of faith and morals, he is altogether infallible.' †

Hervæus says, 'The authority of declaring doubtful points in such matters belongs to the Pope, that is, in things pertaining to the natural or divine law;' and afterwards he adds, 'That his declaration ought to be held as true, so that it is not lawful to hold or to opine the contrary.' ‡

Gregory de Valentia adds, 'In him, whom the whole Church is bound to obey in those things which pertain to the *spiritual health of the soul*, whether they concern faith or morals, there is infallible authority for the judging questions of faith.' Again: 'Christ willed that after the death of Peter, some one should

* 'Romanus Pontifex Petro et in fidei firmitate et in *componendis religionis controversiis* divino jure succedit. Romanus Pontifex in fidei controversiis finiendis errare non potest.'—Melchior Canus, *De loc. Theol.* lib. vi. c. 4 and 7.

† 'Quum Papa loquitur tanquam Doctor universalis ex cathedra, nempe ex potestate suprema tradita Petro docendi Ecclesiam in controversiis fidei et morum decernendis, est omnino infallibilis.—S. Alphons. Lig. *Opp.* tom. i. lib. i. tract. 2, p. 135. Mechlin, 1845.

‡ 'Ad Papam pertinet auctoritas declarandi dubia in talibus, hoc est, in pertinentibus *ad jus naturale vel divinum*,' &c.—*De Pot. Papæ*, ii. col. 4. . . . 'Quod declaratio sua debeat haberi ut vera, ita quod non liceat oppositum *tenere vel opinari*.'—*De Potest. Papali*, apud S. Anton. Roëcab. *Bibl. Pontif.* tom. v. p. 66.

be acknowledged by the Church in perpetual succession in Peter's place : on whom Christ Himself should confer supreme authority *as He did on Peter*, of ordaining the matters which relate to faith, and to other things pertaining to *the salvation of the faithful*.' And further he says, ' that He (Christ) may confer on him the authority, which Peter had, that is, that by a certain law he may so ordain as to co-operate with him by a peculiar assistance, in rightly appointing such things in doctrine and morals as *pertain to the good estate of the Church*.'

And still more explicitly in another place he says, ' It is not to be denied, that what has been said of the infallible certainty of the Pontifical definitions, holds good, first, in those things which the Pontiff has proposed to the faithful, *in deciding doctrinal controversies and exterminating errors*, as revealed of God, and to be believed by faith. But, forasmuch as the Church is always bound to hear its Pastor, and the Divine Scripture declares absolutely the Church to be the pillar and ground of the truth (1 Tim. iii.), and therefore it cannot ever err as a whole, it cannot be doubtful, that the authority of the Pontiff is infallible in all other things which regard *piety, and the whole Church*. Nor do I think that this can be denied without error.' Gregory then applies this to the canonisation of Saints, and concludes : ' This certainty surely rests upon the same promises of God, by which we have seen that it can never be that the whole Church should err in *matters of religion*.'*

* ' Cui Ecclesia tota obtemperare tenetur, in iis rebus, quæ *ad spirituales animæ salutem pertinent*, sive illæ fidem sive mores con-

Here we have the single word *faith* put to stand for the whole revealed order of salvation: for morals are contained under faith; and this, which is the ultimate object of infallibility, is expressed in the following and various formulas: 1. Concerning faith. 2. In things of faith and morals. 3. Things which pertain to faith. 4. Things necessary to salvation. 5. Precepts of morals binding the whole Church. 6. Things pertaining to piety. 7. Things of religion. 8. Things of faith speculative and practical. 9. Things pertaining to doctrine. 10. Controversies of religion. 11. Things pertaining to the natural and Divine laws. 12. Things pertaining to the spiritual health of souls.

cernant, in eo auctoritas est infallibilis ad fidei quæstiones dijudicandas.'—Gregory de Valentia, disp. 1. q. 1, 'De Objecto Fidei,' p. vii. q. 5. s. 27, p. 238. Ingoldstadt, 1595.

'Voluit Christus ut Petro vita defuncto aliquis perpetua serie successionis in locum Petri ab Ecclesia reciperetur, cui Christus ipse auctoritatem supremam sicut Petro conferret, de fide et aliis rebus ea constituendi quæ *ad salutem fidelium pertineant*.' Ibid. s. 35, p. 275. . . 'Ut is [Christus] illi conferat auctoritatem quam Petrus habuit, hoc est, ut certa lege statuatur, peculiari quadam assistentia cum eo concurrere ad ea in doctrina et moribus recte constituenda quæ *ad bonum Ecclesiæ statum pertineant*.'—Ibid. s. 36, p. 279.

'Non est negandum, quin quod dictum est de infallibili certitudine definitionum Pontificis, imprimis locum habeat, in iis quæ Pontifex ad doctrinæ controversias finiendas erroresque exterminandos fidelium proposuit, tanquam a Deo revelata et credenda ex fide. Cæterum, quoniam Pastorem suum semper audire tenetur Ecclesia, et Ecclesiam divina Scriptura absolute prædicat esse columnam et firmamentum veritatis (1 Tim. iii.), ideoque nunquam errare tota potest; dubium esse non debet, quin in aliis quoque rebus omnibus asserendis, quæ *ad pietatem spectent*, et Ecclesiam totam concernent, infallibilis sit Pontificis auctoritas. Neque sane arbitror, hoc absque errore negari posse. . . Quæ sane certitudo iisdem illis Dei promissionibus nititur ex quibus compertum habemus nunquam esse futurum ut universa Ecclesia in rebus religionis fallatur.'—Ibid. s. 40, p. 306.

13. And to the salvation of the faithful. 14. To the good estate of the Church. 15. The deciding of controversies and the extermination of errors. 16. Things which regard piety and the whole Church. 17. Matters of religion.

These might be greatly multiplied. They will, however, suffice to show how wide and general is the simple formula 'in faith and morals,' which is the traditionary expression of the object of the infallibility of the Church.

It is clear that these phrases are all equivalent. They are more or less explicit, but they contain the same ultimate meaning, namely, that the Church has an infallible guidance in treating of all matters of faith, morals, piety, and the general good of the Church.

The object of infallibility, then, is the whole revealed Word of God, and all that is so in contact with revealed truth, that without treating of it, the Word of God could not be guarded, expounded, and defended. As, for instance, in declaring the Canon and authenticity and true interpretation of Holy Scripture, and the like.

Further, it is clear that the Church has an infallible guidance, not only in all matters that are revealed, but also in all matters which are opposed to revelation. For the Church could not discharge its office as the Teacher of all nations, unless it were able with infallible certainty to proscribe doctrines at variance with the word of God.

From this, again, it follows that the *direct* object of infallibility is the Revelation, or Word, of God; the *indirect* object is whatsoever is necessary for its expo-

sition or defence, and whatsoever is contrariant to the Word of God, that is, to faith and morals. The Church having a divine office to condemn errors in faith and morals, has therefore an infallible assistance in discerning and in proscribing false philosophies and false science.* Under this head comes the condemnation of heretical texts, such as the Three Chapters, proscribed in the Fifth Council, the 'Augustinus' of Jansenius, and the like; and also censures, both greater and less, those, for instance, of heresy and of error, because of their contrariety to faith; those also of temerity, scandal, and the like, because of their contrariety to morals at least.

2. It is therefore evident that the doctrinal authority of the Church is not confined to matters of revelation, but extends also to positive truths which are not revealed, whensoever the doctrinal authority of the Church cannot be duly exercised in the promulgation, explanation, and defence of revelation without judging and pronouncing on such matters and truths. This will be clear from the following propositions:

(1.) First, the doctrinal authority of the Church is infallible in all matters and truths which are necessary to the custody of the Depositum.

This extends to certain truths of natural science, as, for example, the existence of substance; and to truths of the natural reason, such as that the soul is

* Porro Ecclesia, quæ una cum apostolico munere docendi, mandatum accepit fidei depositum custodiendi, jus etiam et officium divinitus habet falsi nominis scientiam proscribendi, ne quis decipiat per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam (Coloss. ii. 8).—*Constitutio Prima de Fide Catholica*, cap. iv. De Fide et Ratione. Appendix, No. IV.

immaterial ; that it is 'the form of the body ;' * and the like. It extends also to certain truths of the supernatural order, which are not revealed ; as, the authenticity of certain texts or versions of the Holy Scriptures.

The Council of Trent by a dogmatic decree declared, under anathema, that the Vulgate edition is authentic. Now this is a definition or dogmatic judgment, to be believed on the infallible authority of the Church. But this truth or fact is not revealed.

(2.) Secondly, there are truths of mere human history, which therefore are not revealed, without which the deposit of the Faith cannot be taught or guarded in its integrity. For instance, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome ; that the Council of Trent and the Council of the Vatican are Œcumenical, that is, legitimately celebrated and confirmed ; that Pius IX. is the successor of Peter by legitimate election. These truths are not revealed. They have no place in Scripture ; and except the first, they have no place in tradition ; yet they are so necessary to the order of faith, that the whole would be undermined if they were not infallibly certain. But such infallible certainty is impossible by means of human history and human evidence alone. It is created only by the infallible authority of the Church.

(3.) Thirdly, there are truths of interpretation, not revealed, without which the deposit of the faith cannot be preserved.

The Council of Trent † declares that to the Church it belongs to judge of the true sense and inter-

* Concil. Later. V. Bulla *Apostolici Regiminis*:

† Sess. iv.

pretation of Holy Scripture. Now the sense of the Holy Scripture is twofold; namely, the literal and grammatical, or, as it is called, the *sensus quis*; and the theological and doctrinal, or the *sensus qualis*. The Church judges infallibly of both. It judges of the question that such and such words or texts have such and such literal and grammatical meaning. It judges also of the conformity of such meaning with the rule of faith, or of its contradiction to the same. The former is a question of fact, the latter of dogma. That the latter falls within the infallible judgment of the Church has been denied by none but heretics. The former has been denied, for a time, by some who continued to be Catholics: for this is, in truth, the question of dogmatic facts. But the Jansenists never ventured to extend their denial to the text of Scripture, though the argument is one and the same. The Church has the same assistance in judging of the grammatical and of the theological sense of texts, whether sacred or simply human: and has exercised it in all ages.

For instance: Pope Hormisdas* says, ‘The venerable wisdom of the Fathers providently defined by faithful ordinance what doctrines are Catholic: fixing also certain parts of the ancient books to be received as of authority, the Holy Ghost so instructing them; lest the reader, indulging his own opinion . . . should assert not that which tends to the edification of the Church, but what his own pleasure had conceived.’

Pope Nicholas I. † writes, ‘By their decree (i.e. that

* Hormisdæ Ep. LXX. Labbe, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 664.

† Nic. Ep. ad Univ. Episc. Galliæ, Labbe, *Concil.* tom. x. p. 282.

of the Roman Pontiffs) the writings of other authors are approved or condemned, so that what the Apostolic See approves, is to be held at this day, and what it has rejected, is to be esteemed of no effect,' &c.

Pope Gelasius, in a Council held at Rome, decreed as follows: 'Also the writings of Cæcilius Cyprianus, Martyr, Bishop of Carthage, are in all things to be received; also the writings of Blessed Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzum. . . . also the writings and treatises of all orthodox Fathers, who in nothing have deviated from the fellowship of the Holy Roman Church, nor have been separated from its faith and preaching; but have been partakers by the grace of God of its communion unto the last day of their life, we decree to be read.' *

Turrecremata says, 'It is to be believed that the Roman Pontiff is directed by the Holy Ghost in things of faith, and consequently in these cannot err; otherwise any one might as easily say that there was error in the choice (or discernment) of the four Gospels, and of the canonical epistles, and of the books of other doctors, approving some, and disapproving others; which, however, we read, and as is evident, was determined by the Roman Pontiffs Gregory and Gelasius.' † Again, he says, 'The sixth kind of Catholic truths are those which are asserted by doctors, approved by the Universal Church for the defence of the faith and the confutation of heretics. . . . This is evident: for since the Church, which is directed by

* Labbe, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 387.

† Turrecremata, *De potestate Papali*, lib. ii. cap. 112, in *Bibl. M. Rocaberti*, tom. xiii. p. 453.

the Holy Ghost, approves certain doctors, receiving their doctrine as true, it necessarily follows that the doctrine of such (writers), delivered by way of assertion, and never otherwise retracted, is true and ought to be held by all the faithful with firm belief, in so far as it is received by the Universal Church; otherwise, the Universal Church would appear to have erred in approving and accepting their doctrine as true, which however was not true.’*

And Stapleton lays down, ‘Bishops . . . when they treat of the Scripture as doctors, have not this certain and infallible authority of which we are speaking: until their treatises, approved by sacred authority, are commended by the Church as Catholic and certainly orthodox interpretation, which Gelasius first did,’† &c.

I will give one more example, as it is eminently in point.

The Church has approved in a special manner the works of St. Augustine as containing the true doctrines of grace against the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian heresies.

In this particular, his works have been declared to be orthodox by St. Innocent I., St. Zosimus, St. Boniface I., St. Celestine, St. Hormisdas, St. Felix IV., and Boniface II. For that reason Clement XI. justly condemned the book of Launoy called ‘Véritable tradition de l’Église sur la Prédestination et la Grâce,’ &c., as ‘at least impious and blasphemous, and injurious to St. Augustine, the shining light and chief

* Ibid. lib. iv. p. ii. c. ii. 382.

† *Controv. Fidei*, lib. x. c. ii. p. 355, ed. Paris, 1620.

doctor of the Catholic Church ; as also to the Church itself and to the Apostolic See.' *

Now, in this approbation the Church approved the doctrine of St. Augustine, not only in the *sensus qualis* but also in the *sensus quis* ; that is, it approved not only a possible theological sense which was orthodox, but the very and grammatical sense of the text. It was therefore a true doctrinal judgment as to a dogmatic fact.

For, as Cardinal Gerdil argues, the doctrine of St. Augustine was proposed by the Church as a rule of faith against the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian errors. 'When it is said that the doctrine of St. Augustine in the matter of grace was adopted by the Church, it must not be understood in the sense as if St. Augustine had worked out a peculiar system for himself, which the Church then adopted as its own. . . . 'The great merit of St. Augustine is, that with marvellous learning he expounded and defended the antient belief of the faithful.' † The Church infallibly discerned the orthodoxy of his writings, and approving them, commended them as a rule of faith.

If the Church have this infallible discernment of the meaning, grammatical and theological, of orthodox texts, it has *eodem intuitu* the same discernment of heterodox texts. For the universal practice of the Church in commending the writings of orthodox, and of condemning those of heterodox authors, is a part of the doctrinal authority of the Church in the

* Brev. 'Cum. sicut,' 28 Jan. 1704. D'Argentré, *Collec. Jud.* tom. vi. p. 444.

† *Saggio d' Istruz. teol.* 'De gratia,' ed. Rom. p. 189.

custody and defence of the faith. It falls therefore within the limits of its infallibility.

The commendation of the works of St. Augustine, and the condemnation of the Thalia of Arius at Nicæa, of the Anathematisms of Nestorius at Ephesus, and of the Three Chapters of Ibas, Theodore, and Theodoret, in the Second Council of Constantinople, all alike involved a judgment of dogmatic facts.

The subterfuge of the Jansenists as to the literal meaning of 'Augustinus' came too late. The practice of the Church and the decrees of Councils had already pronounced its condemnation.

(4.) What has here been said of the condemnation of heretical texts, is equally applicable to the censures of the Church.

The condemnation of propositions is only the condemnation of a text by fragments.

The same discernment which ascertains the orthodoxy of certain propositions, detects the heterodoxy of those which are contradictory. And in both processes that discernment is infallible. To define doctrines of faith, and to condemn the contradictions of heresy, is almost one and the same act. The infallibility of the Church in condemning heretical propositions is denied by no Catholic.

In like manner, the detection and condemnation of propositions at variance with theological certainty is a function of the same discernment by which theological certainty is known. But the Church has an infallible discernment of truths which are theologically certain; that is, of conclusions resulting from two premisses of which one is revealed and the other evident by the light of nature.

In these two kinds of censures, at least, it is therefore of faith that the Church is infallible.

As to the other censures, such as temerity, scandal, offence to pious ears, and the like, it is evident that they all relate to the moral character of propositions. It is not credible that a proposition condemned by the Church as rash should not be rash, and as scandalous should not be scandalous, or as offensive to pious ears should not be such, and the like. If the Church be infallible in faith and morals, it is not to be believed that it can err in passing these moral judgments on the ethical character of propositions. In truth, all Catholic theologians, without exception, so far as I know, teach that the Church is infallible in all such censures.* They differ only in this: that some declare this truth to be of faith, and therefore the denial of it to be heresy; others declare it to be of faith as to the condemnation of heretical propositions, but in all others to be only of theological certainty; so that the denial of it to be not heresy, but error.

To deny the infallibility of the Church in the censures less than for heresy, is held to be heretical by De Panormo, Malderus, Coninck, Diana, Oviedo, Amici, Matteucci, Pozzobonelli, Viva, Nannetti. Murray calls it objective heresy. Griffini, Herincx, Ripalda, Ferraris, and Reinerding do not decide whether it be heretical, erroneous, or proximate to error. Cardenas and Turrianus hold it to be erroneous; Anfossi erroneous, or proximate to error. De Lugo in one place maintains that it is erroneous;

* Of course, I am not speaking of writers whose works are under censure.

in another, that to deny the infallibility of the Church in the condemnation of erroneous propositions, is heresy.* All, therefore, affirm the Church in passing such censures to be infallible.

The infallibility of the Church in all censures less than heresy may be proved from the acts of the Council of Constance. In the eleventh article of the Interrogatory proposed to the followers of Huss are included condemnations of all kinds. They were asked whether they believed the articles of Wickliffe and Huss to be 'not Catholic, but some of them notoriously heretical, some erroneous, others temerarious and seditious, others offensive to pious ears.' †

* De Panormo, *Scrutinium Doctrinarum*, cap. iii. art. xiii. num. 7 sqq. p. 196, Rome, 1709; Diana, *Opp.* tom. ix. De infall. Rom. Pont. resol. x. num. 8 sqq. p. 262, Venice, 1698; Amici, *Cursus Theologicus*, tom. iv. De Fide, disp. vii. num. 55, p. 146, Douay, 1641; Matteucci, *Opus Dogmatic.* De Controv. Fidei, vii. cap. iii. num. 33, p. 359, Venice, 1755; Viva, *Theses Damnatae*, quæst. prodrom. num. xviii. p. 10, Padua, 1737; Murray, *De Ecclesia*, tom. iii. fasc. i. p. 226, Dublin, 1865; Herincx, *Summ. Theol. Schol. et Moral.* dub. ix. num. 98, p. 186, Antwerp, 1663; Ripalda, tom. iii. disp. i. sect. 7, num. 59, p. 16, Cologne, 1648; Ferraris, *Bibliothec. Canonic.* tom. vi. sub. v. Prop. Damn. num. 37, p. 565, Rome, 1789; Reinerding, *Theol. Fundamental.* tract. i. num. 408, p. 237, Münster, 1864; Cardenas, *Crisis Theologica*, dis. proœm. num. 140, p. 35, Cologne, 1690; Turrianus, *Select. Disput. Theol.* pars i. disp. xxx. dub. 3, p. 149, Lyons, 1634; Anfossi, *Difesa dell' 'Auctorem Fidei,'* lett. x. tom. ii. p. 141, Rome, 1816; De Lugo, *De Virtute Fidei*, tom. iii. disp. xx. sect. 3, num. 109, p. 324, and num. 113-117, p. 325, Venice, 1751. For the summary and for the references to Pozzobonelli, Malderus, Coninck, Oviedo, Nannetti and Griffini, I am indebted to an unpublished work of Fr. Granniello of the congregation of Barnabites in Rome.

† 'Utrum credat sententiam sacri Constantiensis concilii, . . . scilicet quod supradicti 45 articuli Joannis Wicliff, et Joannis Huss triginta, non sunt Catholici; sed quidam ex eis sunt

Martin V., therefore, in the Bull 'Inter cunctos' requires belief, that is, interior assent, to all such condemnations made by the Council of Constance, which therein extended its infallible jurisdiction to all the minor censures, less than that of heresy.

In like manner, again, in the Bull 'Auctorem Fidei,' the propositions condemned as heretical are very few, but the propositions condemned as erroneous, scandalous, offensive, schismatical, injurious, are very numerous.

During the last three hundred years, the Pontiffs have condemned a multitude of propositions of which perhaps not twenty were censured with the note of heresy.

Now in every censure the Church proposes to us some truth relating to faith or morals ; and whether the matter of such truths be revealed or not revealed, it nevertheless so pertains to faith and morals that the deposit could not be guarded if the Church in such judgments were liable to error.

The Apostle declares that 'the Church is the pillar and ground of the Truth.'* On what authority these words can be restricted to revealed truths alone, I do not know. I know of no commentator, ancient or modern, who so restricts them. On the other hand St. Peter Damian, Sixtus V., Ferré, Cardinal de Lugo, Gregory de Valentia, expressly extend these words to all truths necessary to the custody of the deposit.

notorie hæretici, quidam erronei, alii temerarii et seditiosi, alii piarum aurium offensivi.—Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xvi. p. 194.

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

This doctrine is abundantly confirmed by the following declarations of Pius IX. 'For the Church by its Divine institution is bound with all diligence to guard whole and inviolate the deposit of Divine faith, and constantly to watch with supreme zeal over the salvation of souls, driving away therefore, and eliminating with all exactness, all things which are either contrary to faith or can in any way bring into peril the salvation of souls. Wherefore the Church, by the power committed to it by its Divine Author, has not only the right, but above all the duty, of not tolerating but of proscribing and of condemning all errors, if the integrity of the faith and the salvation of souls should so require. On all philosophers who desire to remain sons of the Church, and on all philosophy, this duty lies, to assert nothing contrary to the teaching of the Church, and to retract all such things when the Church shall so admonish. The opinion which teaches contrary to this we pronounce and declare altogether erroneous, and in the highest degree injurious to the faith of the Church, and to its authority.'*

From all that has been said, it is evident that the Church claims no jurisdiction over the processes of philosophy or science, except as they bear upon revealed truths; nor does it claim to intervene in philosophy or science as a judge or censor of the principles proper to such philosophy or science. The only judgment it pronounces regards the conformity or variance of such processes of the human intelli-

* *Litteræ Pii IX.*, 'Gravissimas inter,' ad Archiep. Monac. et Frising. Dec. 1862.

gence with the deposit of faith, and the principles of revealed morality : that is, in order to the end of its infallible office, namely, the guardianship of Divine revelation.

I will not here attempt to enumerate the subject-matters which fall within the limits of the infallibility of the Church. It belongs to the Church alone to determine the limits of its own infallibility. Hitherto it has not done so except by its acts, and from the practice of the Church we may infer to what matter its infallible discernment extends. It is enough for the present to show two things :

1. First, that the infallibility of the Church extends, as we have seen, directly to the whole matter of revealed truth, and indirectly to all truths which though not revealed are in such contact with revelation that the deposit of faith and morals cannot be guarded, expounded, and defended without an infallible discernment of such unrevealed truths.

2. Secondly, that this extension of the infallibility of the Church is, by the unanimous teaching of all theologians, at least theologically certain ; and, in the judgment of the majority of theologians, certain by the certainty of faith.

Such is the traditional doctrine respecting the infallibility of the Church in faith and morals. By the definition of the Vatican Council, what is traditionally believed by all the faithful in respect to the Church is expressly declared of the Roman Pontiff. But the definition of the extent of that infallibility, and of the certainty on which it rests, in matters not revealed, has not been treated as yet,

but is left for the second part of the 'Schema De Ecclesia.'

III. Thirdly, the definition declares the efficient cause of infallibility to be a Divine assistance promised to Peter, and in Peter to his successors.

The explicit promise is that of our Divine Lord to Peter, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.' *

The implicit promise is in the words 'On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.' †

The traditional interpretation of these promises is precise.

The words, 'Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos,' are interpreted, by both Fathers and Councils, of the perpetual stability of Peter's faith in his see and his successors; and of this assertion I give the following proofs.

St. Ambrose, A.D. 397, in his treatise on Faith, says, Christ 'said to Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. Was He not therefore able to confirm the faith of him to whom by His own authority He gave the kingdom? whom He pointed out as the foundation of the Church, when He called him the rock?' ‡

* St. Luke, xxii. 32.

† St. Matth. xvi. 18.

‡ Habes in evangelio quia Petro dixit, Rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua.—Ergo cui propria auctoritate regnum dabat, hujus fidem firmare non poterat; quem cum petram dixit firmamentum Ecclesiæ indicavit?—St. Ambrose *De Fide*, lib. iv. cap. v. tom. iii. p. 672, ed. Ben. Venice, 1751.

St. John Chrysostom, A.D. 407, in his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, writes, 'He (i.e. Peter) takes the lead in the matter, as he was himself entrusted with the care of all. For Christ said to him, Thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren.'*

St. Augustine, A.D. 430, in his commentary on the words of Psalm cxviii. 43, 'And take not Thou the word of truth utterly out of my mouth,' says, 'Therefore the whole body of Christ speaks; that is, the universality of the Holy Church. And the Lord Himself said to Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, that is, that the word of truth be not utterly taken out of thy mouth.'†

St. Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 444, in his commentary on St. Luke, says, 'The Lord, when He hinted at the denial of His disciple and said, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, immediately utters a word of consolation, thou being converted, confirm thy brethren; that is, be the confirmer and teacher of those who come to Me by faith.'‡

* Πρῶτος τοῦ πράγματος αὐθεντεῖ, ἅτε αὐτὸς πάντας ἐγχειρισθείς, πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτον εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός· Καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.—St. Joann. Chrys. *Opp.* tom. ix. p. 26, ed. Ben. Paris, 1731.

† Totum itaque corpus Christi loquitur, id est Ecclesiæ sanctæ universitas.—Et ipse Dominus ad Petrum, Rogavi, inquit, pro te, ne deficiat fides tua; hoc est ne auferatur ex ore tuo verbum veritatis usque valde.—St. Augustin. *Enarratio in Psalmos*, tom. iv. p. 1310, ed. Ben. Paris, 1681.

‡ Ὁ μέντοι Κύριος τὴν τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἄρνησιν αἰτιζάμενος ἐν οἷς ἔφη, ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡ πίστις σου, εἰσφέρει παραχρῆμα τὸν τῆς παρακλήσεως λόγον, καὶ φησι, Καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου· τούτεστι γενοῦ στήριγμα καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν διὰ πίστεως προσιόντων ἐμοί.—St. Cyrill. Alex. *Comment. in Luc.* xxii. tom. v. p. 916, ed. Migne, Paris, 1848.

St. Leo the Great, A.D. 460, in a discourse on the anniversary of his election to the Pontificate, says, ‘If anything in our time and by us is well administered and rightly ordained, it is to be ascribed to his operation and to his government, to whom it was said, “Thou being converted, confirm thy brethren,” and to whom after His resurrection, in answer to his threefold declaration of everlasting love, the Lord with mystical meaning thrice said, “Feed my sheep.”’*

St. Gelasius, A.D. 496, writes to Honorius, Bishop of Dalmatia, ‘Though we are hardly able to draw breath in the manifold difficulties of the times; yet in the government of the Apostolic See we unceasingly have in hand the care of the whole fold of the Lord, which was committed to blessed Peter by the voice of our Saviour Himself, “And thou being converted, confirm thy brethren,” and again, “Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.”’†

Pelagius II., A.D. 590, in like manner writes to the Bishops of Istria, ‘For you know how the Lord in the gospel declares: Simon, Simon, behold Satan has desired you that he might sift you as wheat, but I

* *Tantam potentiam dedit ei quem totius Ecclesiæ principem fecit, ut si quid etiam nostris temporibus recte per nos agitur recteque disponitur illius operibus illius sit gubernaculis deputandum, cui dictum est, Et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos; et cui post resurrectionem suam Dominus ad trinam æterni amoris professionem mystica insinuatione ter dixit, Pasce oves meas.*—St. Leo, *serm. iv. cap. iv. tom. i. p. 19, ed. Ballerini, Venice, 1753.*

† *Licet inter varias temporum difficultates vix respirare valeamus, pro sedis tamen apostolicæ moderamine totius ovilis dominici curam sine cessatione tractantes, quæ beato Petro salvatoris ipsius nostri voce delegata est, Et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos; et item, Petre, amas me? pasce oves meas.*—St. Gelasius, *epist. v.; in Labbe, Concil. tom. v. p. 298, Venice, 1728.*

have prayed the Father for thee, that thy faith fail not, and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren. See, beloved, the truth cannot be falsified, nor can the faith of Peter ever be shaken or changed.’*

St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 604, in his celebrated letter to Maurice, Emperor of the East, says, ‘For it is clear to all who know the Gospel, that the care of the whole Church was committed to the Apostle St. Peter, prince of all the Apostles. For to him it is said, “Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.” To him it is said, “Behold, Satan has desired to sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.” To him it is said, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church,”’† &c.

Stephen, Bishop of Dori, A.D. 649, at a Lateran Council under Martin I. says, in a *libellus supplex* or memorial read and recorded in the acts, ‘Peter the Prince of the Apostles was first commanded to feed the sheep of the Catholic Church, when the Lord said, “Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.” And

* Nostis enim in evangelio dominum proclamantem, Simon, Simon, ecce Satananas expetivit vos, ut cribraret sicut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te Patrem, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Considerate, carissimi, quia veritas mentiri non potuit, nec fides Petri in æternum quassari poterit vel mutari.—Pelagius. II. epist. v. in Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 626.

† Cunctis enim Evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce dominica sancto et omnium apostolorum Petro Principi Apostolo totius Ecclesiæ cura commissa est. Ipsi quippe dicitur, Petre, amas me? pasce oves meas. Ipsi dicitur, Ecce Satananas expetiit cribrare vos sicut triticum; et ego pro te rogavi, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Ipsi dicitur, Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram, etc.—St. Gregor. *Epist.* lib. v. ep. xx. tom. ii. 748, ed. Ben. Paris, 1705.

again, he chiefly and especially, having a faith firm above all, and unchangeable in our Lord God, was found worthy to convert and to confirm his fellows and his spiritual brethren who were shaken.’*

Pope St. Vitalian, A.D. 669, says, in a letter to Paul, Archbishop of Crete, ‘What things we command thee and thy Synod according to God and for the Lord, study at once to fulfil, lest we be compelled to bear ourselves not in mercy but according to the power of the sacred canons, for it is written: The Lord said, “Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.” And again: “Whatsoever thou, Peter, shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”’†

The quotations given in the Pastoral Letter of last year, united with these, afford the following result. The application of the promise *Ego rogavi pro te*, &c. to the infallible faith of Peter and his successors, is made by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Leo, St. Gelasius, Pelagius II., St. Gregory the Great,

* Princeps apostolorum Petrus pascere primus jussus est oves Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, cum Dominus dicit, Petre, amas me? Pasce oves meas; et iterum ipse præcipue ac specialiter firmam præ omnibus habens in Dominum Deum nostrum et immutabilem fidem, convertere aliquando et confirmare exagitatos consortes suos et spirituales meruit fratres.—Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 107.

† Quæ præcipimus tibi secundum Deum et propter Dominum tuæque synodo, stude illico peragere, ne cogamur non misericorditer sed secundum virtutem sacratissimorum canonum conversari. Scriptum namque est, Dominus inquit, Petre, rogavi pro te ut non deficeret fides tua; et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Et rursum, Quodcunque ligaveris, etc.—St. Vitalian, epist. i. in Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 460.

Stephen Bishop of Dori in a Lateran Council, St. Vitalian, the Bishops of the IV. Œcumenical Council A.D. 451, St. Agatho in the VI. A.D. 680, St. Bernard A.D. 1153, St. Thomas Aquinas A.D. 1274, St. Bonaventure A.D. 1274: that is, this interpretation is given by three out of the four doctors of the Church, by six Pontiffs down to the seventh century. It was recognised in two Œcumenical Councils. It is explicitly declared by the Angelic Doctor, who may be taken as the exponent of the Dominican school, and by the Seraphic Doctor, who is likewise the witness of the Franciscan; and by a multitude of Saints. This catena, if continued to later times, might, as all know, be indefinitely prolonged.

The interpretation by the Fathers of the words 'On this rock,' &c. is fourfold, but all four interpretations are no more than four aspects of one and the same truth, and all are necessary to complete its full meaning. They all implicitly or explicitly contain the perpetual stability of Peter's faith. It would be out of place to enter upon this here. It is enough to refer to Ballerini *De vi et ratione Primatus*, where the subject is exhausted.

In these two promises a divine assistance is pledged to Peter and to his successors, and that divine assistance is promised to secure the stability and indefectibility of the Faith in the supreme Doctor and Head of the Church, for the general good of the Church itself.

It is therefore a *charisma*, a grace of the supernatural order, attached to the Primacy of Peter which is perpetual in his successors.

I need hardly point out that between the charisma, or *gratia gratis data* of infallibility and the idea of impeccability there is no connection. I should not so much as notice it, if some had not strangely obscured the subject by introducing this confusion. I should have thought that the gift of prophecy in Balaam and Caiaphas, to say nothing of the powers of the priesthood, which are the same in good and bad alike, would have been enough to make such confusion impossible.

The preface to the Definition carefully lays down that infallibility is not inspiration. The Divine assistance by which the Pontiffs are guarded from error, when as Pontiffs they teach in matters of faith and morals, contains no new revelation. Inspiration contained not only assistance in writing but sometimes the suggestion of truths not otherwise known. The Pontiffs are witnesses, teachers, and judges of the revelation already given to the Church; and in guarding, expounding, and defending that revelation, their witness, teaching, and judgment, is by Divine assistance preserved from error. This assistance, like the revelation which it guards, is of the supernatural order. They, therefore, who argue against the infallibility of the Pontiff because he is an individual person, and still profess to believe the infallibility of Bishops in General Councils, and also of the Bishops dispersed throughout the world, because they are many witnesses, betray the fact that they have not as yet mastered the idea that infallibility is not of the order of nature, but is of the order of grace. In the order of nature, indeed, truth may be found rather with the

many than with the individual, though in this the history of mankind would give a host of contrary examples. But in the supernatural order, no such argument can have place. It depends simply upon the ordination of God; and certainly neither in the Old Testament nor in the New have we examples of infallibility depending upon number. But in both we have the example of infallibility attaching to persons as individuals; as for instance the Prophets of the old and the Apostles of the new law. It is no answer to say that the Apostles were united in one body. They were each one possessed of that which all possessed together. To this may be also added the inspired writers, who were preserved from error individually and personally, and not as a collective body. The whole evidence of Scripture, therefore, is in favour of the communication of Divine gifts to individuals. The objection is not scriptural nor Catholic, nor of the supernatural order, but natural, and, in the last analysis, rationalistic.

IV. Fourthly, the Definition precisely determines the acts of the Pontiff to which this Divine assistance is attached; namely, '*in doctrina de fide vel moribus definienda*,' to the defining of doctrine of faith and morals.

The definition, therefore, carefully excludes all ordinary and common acts of the Pontiff as a private person, and also all acts of the Pontiff as a private theologian, and again all his acts which are not in matters of faith and morals; and further, all acts in which he does not define a doctrine, that is, in which he does not act as the supreme Doctor of the Church

in defining doctrines to be held by the whole Church.

The definition therefore includes, and includes only, the solemn acts of the Pontiff as the supreme Doctor of all Christians, defining doctrines of faith and morals, to be held by the whole Church.

Now the word *doctrine* here signifies a revealed truth, traditionally handed down by the teaching authority, or *magisterium infallibile*, of the Church; including any truth which, though not revealed, is yet so united with a revealed truth as to be inseparable from its full explanation, and defence.

And the word definition here signifies the precise judgment or sentence in which any such traditional truth of faith or morals may be authoritatively formulated; as, for instance, the consubstantiality of the Son, the procession of the Holy Ghost by one only Spiration from the Father and the Son, the Immaculate Conception, and the like.

The word 'definition' has two senses, the one forensic and narrow, the other wide and common; and this in the present instance is more correct. The forensic or narrow sense confines its meaning to the logical act of defining by *genus* and *differentia*. But this sense is proper to dialectics and disputations, not to the acts of Councils and Pontiffs. The wide and common sense is that of an authoritative termination of questions which have been in doubt and debate, and therefore of the judgment or sentence thence resulting. When the second Council of Lyons says, 'Si quæ subortæ fuerint fidei quæstiones suo iudicio debere definiri,' it means that the questions

of faith ought to be *ended* by this judgment of the Pontiff. *Definire* is *finem imponere*, or *finaliter judicare*. It is therefore equivalent to *determinare*, or *finaliter determinare*, which words are those of St. Thomas when speaking of the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff. It is in this sense that the Vatican Council uses the word *definienda*. It signifies the final decision by which any matter of faith and morals is put into a doctrinal form.

Now it is to be observed that the definition does not speak of either controversies, or questions of faith and morals. It speaks of the doctrinal authority of the Pontiff in general; and therefore both of what may be called pacific definitions like that of the Immaculate Conception, and of controversial definitions like those of St. Innocent against the Pelagians, or St. Leo against the Monophysites. Moreover, under the term definitions, as we have seen, are included all dogmatic judgments. In the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* these terms are used as synonymous. The tenth proposition of the Synod of Pistoia is condemned as 'Detrahens firmitati definitionum, judiciorumve dogmaticorum Ecclesiæ.' In the Italian version made by order of the Pope these words are translated, 'detraente alla fermezza delle definizioni o giudizi dogmatici della Chiesa.' Now, dogmatic judgments included all judgments in matters of dogma; as for instance, the inspiration and authenticity of sacred books, the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of human and uninspired books.

But intimately connected with dogma in these judgments, as we have already seen, is the gram-

mathematical and literal sense of such texts. The theological sense of such texts cannot be judged of without a discernment of their grammatical and literal sense; and both are included in the same dogmatic judgment, that is, both the dogmatic truth and the dogmatic fact.

The example above given, in which the Pontiffs approved and commended to the Church, as a rule of faith against Pelagianism, the writings of St. Augustine, was a true definition of doctrine in faith and morals. The condemnation of the 'Augustinus' of Jansenius, and of the five propositions extracted from it, was also a doctrinal definition, or a dogmatic judgment.

In like manner all censures, whether for heresy or with a note less than heresy, are doctrinal definitions in faith and morals, and are included in the words *in doctrina de fide vel moribus definienda*.

In a word, the whole *magisterium* or doctrinal authority of the Pontiff as the supreme Doctor of all Christians, is included in this definition of his infallibility. And also all legislative or judicial acts, so far as they are inseparably connected with his doctrinal authority; as, for instance, all judgments, sentences, and decisions, which contain the motives of such acts as derived from faith and morals. Under this will come laws of discipline, canonisation of Saints, approbation of religious Orders, of devotions, and the like; all of which intrinsically contain the truths and principles of faith, morals, and piety.

The Definition, then, limits the infallibility of the Pontiff to his supreme acts *ex cathedra* in faith and

morals, but extends his infallibility to all acts in the fullest exercise of his supreme *magisterium* or doctrinal authority.

V. Fifthly, the definition declares that in these acts the Pontiff '*ea infallibilitate pollere, qua Divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide et moribus instructam esse voluit*;' that is, that he is possessed of the infallibility with which our Divine Saviour willed that His Church should be endowed.

It is to be carefully noted that this definition declares that the Roman Pontiff possesses by himself the infallibility with which the Church in unison with him is endowed.

The definition does not decide the question whether the infallibility of the Church is derived from him or through him. But it does decide that his infallibility is not derived from the Church, nor through the Church. The former question is left untouched. Two truths are affirmed; the one, that the supreme and infallible doctrinal authority was given to Peter, the other, that the promise of the Holy Spirit was afterwards extended to the Apostles. The promises '*Ego rogavi pro te,*' and '*Non prævalebunt,*' were spoken to Peter alone. The promises '*He shall lead you into all truth,*' and '*Behold, I am with you all days,*' were spoken to Peter with all the Apostles. The infallibility of Peter was, therefore, not dependent on his union with them in exercising it; but, their infallibility was evidently dependent on their union with him. In like manner, the whole Episcopate gathered in Council is not in-

fallible without its head. But the head is always infallible by himself. Thus far the definition is express, and the infallibility of the Vicar of Christ is declared to be the *privilegium Petri*, a charisma attached to the primacy, a Divine assistance given as a prerogative of the Head. There is, therefore, a special fitness in the word *pollere* in respect to the Head of the Church. This Divine assistance is his special prerogative depending on God alone; independent of the Church, which in dependence on him is endowed with the same infallibility. If the definition does not decide that the Church derives its infallibility from the Head, it does decide that the Head does not derive his infallibility from the Church; for it affirms this Divine assistance to be derived from the promise to Peter and in Peter to his successors.

VI. Lastly, the definition fixes the dogmatic value of these Pontifical acts *ex cathedra*, by declaring that they are '*ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ, irreformabilia*,' that is, irreformable in and of themselves, and not because the Church or any part or any members of the Church should assent to them. These words, with extreme precision, do two things. First, they ascribe to the Pontifical acts *ex cathedra*, in faith or morals an intrinsic infallibility; and secondly, they exclude from them all influx of any other cause of such intrinsic infallibility. It is ascribed alone to the Divine assistance given to the Head of the Church for that end and effect.

I need not add, that by these words many forms of error are excluded: as, first, the theory that the joint

action of the Episcopate congregated in Council is necessary to the infallibility of the Pontiff; secondly, that the consent of the Episcopate dispersed is required; thirdly, that if not the express at least the tacit assent of the Episcopate is needed. All these alike deny the infallibility of the Pontiff till his acts are confirmed by the Episcopate. I know, indeed, it has been said by some, that in so speaking they do not deny the infallibility of the Pontiff, but affirm him to be infallible when he is united with the Episcopate, from which they further affirm that he can never be divided. But this, after all, resolves the efficient cause of his infallibility into union with the Episcopate, and makes its exercise dependent upon that union; which is to deny his infallibility as a privilege of the primacy, independent of the Church which he is to teach and to confirm. The words '*Ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ*,' preclude all ambiguity by which for two hundred years the promise of our Lord to Peter and his successors has in some minds been obscured.

CHAPTER III.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE DOCTRINE OF INFALLIBILITY.

I WILL now add a few words respecting the terms which have been used, not only in the course of the last months, but in the traditional theology of the Schools, on the doctrine of Infallibility.

Certain well-known writers have rendered memorable the formula of 'personal, separate, independent and absolute infallibility.' It has not only been used in pastoral letters, and pamphlets, but introduced into high diplomatic correspondence.

The frequency and confidence with which this formula was repeated, as if taken from the writings of the promoters of the Definition, made it not unnatural to examine into the origin, history, and meaning of the formula itself. I therefore set myself to search it out; and I employed others to do the same. As it had been ascribed to myself, our first examination was turned to anything I might have written. After repeated search, not only was the formula as a whole nowhere to be discovered, but the words of which it is composed were, with the exception of the word 'independent,' equally nowhere to be found. I mention this, that I may clear away the supposition that in what I add I have any motive of defending myself

or anything I may have written. I speak of it now simply for the truth's sake, and for charity, which is always promoted by a clear statement of truth, and never by the confused noise of controversy; and also to justify some of the most eminent defenders of Catholic doctrine, by showing that this terminology is to be found in the writings of many of our greatest theologians.

I may remind you, in passing, that in the Definition not a trace of this formula nor of its component words is to be found.

First, as to the word *personal*, Cardinal Toletus, speaking of the doctrine of infallibility, says, 'The first opinion is, that the privilege of the Pope, that of not erring in faith, is *personal*; and cannot be communicated to another.' After quoting our Lord's words, 'I have prayed for thee,' &c. he adds, 'I concede that this privilege is *personal*.' *

Ballerini says, that the jurisdiction of St. Peter, by reason of the primacy, was 'singular and personal' to himself. The same right he affirms to belong also to the Roman Pontiffs, St. Peter's successors.' †

This doctrine he explains diffusely.

'This primacy of chief jurisdiction, not of mere order, in St. Peter and the Roman Pontiffs his successors, is *personal*, that is, attached to their person:

* 'Prima est quod privilegium Papæ ut in fide errare non possit est personale, nec ipse potest alteri communicare, Luc. xxii. : "Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos." Ad primum concedo esse illud privilegium personale: ob id communicari non potest.'—Toletus, *In Summ. Enarr.* tom. ii. pp. 62, 64. Rome 1869.

† 'Jurisdictio et prærogativæ quæ eidem sedi ab antiquis asse-

and therefore a supreme personal right, which is communicated to no other, is contained in the primacy.

‘Hence, when there is question of the rights and the jurisdiction proper to the primacy, and when these are ascribed to the Roman See, or Cathedra, or Church of St. Peter; by the name of the Roman See or Cathedra, or Church, to which this primacy of jurisdiction is ascribed, the single person of the Roman Pontiff is to be understood, to whom alone the same primacy is attached.

‘Hence again it follows, that whatsoever belongs to the Roman See or Cathedra or Church, by reason of the primacy, is so to be ascribed to the person of the Roman Pontiffs that they need help or association of none for the exercise of that right.’*

From this passage three conclusions flow:

1. First, that the Primacy is a personal privilege in Peter and his successors.

runtur ratione primatus ejusdem Petri ac successorum singulares et personales judicandæ sunt.’—Ballerini, *de Vi et Ratione Primatus*, cap. iii. sect. 5, p. 14. Rome, 1849.

* ‘Hic præcipuæ jurisdictionis et non meri ordinis primatus S. Petri et Romanorum Pontificum ejus successorum personalis est, seu ipsorum personæ alligatus; ac proinde jus quoddam præcipuum ipsorum personale, id est, nulli alii commune, in eo primatu contineri debet. Hinc cum de jure, seu jurisdictione propria primatus agitur, hæcque Romanæ S. Petri sedi, cathedræ, vel Ecclesiæ tribuitur; sedis cathedræ vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ nomine, cui ea jurisdictio primatus propria asseratur, una Romani Pontificis persona intelligenda est, cui uni idem primatus est alligatus. Hinc quoque sequitur, quidquid juris ratione primatus Romanæ sedi cathedræ, vel Ecclesiæ competit, Romanorum Pontificum personæ ita essetribuendum ut nullius adjutorio vel societate ad idem jus exercendum indigeant.’—Ballerini, *de Vi et Ratione Primatus*, cap. iii. propositio 3, p. 10.

2. Secondly, that this personal privilege attaches to Peter and to the Roman Pontiffs alone.

3. Thirdly, that in exercising this same primacy the Roman Pontiff needs the help and society of no other.

Ballerini then adds :

‘That what was personal in Peter by reason of the primacy, is to be declared personal in his successors the Roman Pontiffs, on whom the same primacy of Peter with the same jurisdiction has devolved, no one can deny.

‘Therefore to Peter alone, and to the person alone of his successors, the dignity and jurisdiction of the Primacy is so attached, that it can be ascribed to no other Bishop, even though of the Chief Sees; and much less can it be ascribed to any number whatsoever of Bishops congregated together; nor in that essential jurisdiction of the primacy ought the Roman Pontiff to depend on any one whomsoever; nor can he; especially as the jurisdiction received from Christ was instituted by Christ un-circumscribed by any condition, and personal in Peter alone and his successors : like as He instituted the primacy of jurisdiction to be personal, which without personal jurisdiction is unintelligible.’ *

* ‘Quod autem personale in Petro fuit ratione primatus, idem in successoribus ejus Romanis Pontificibus, in quos idem primatus Petri cum eadem jurisdictione transivit, personale esse dicendum, inficiari potest nemo. Soli igitur Petro et soli successorum ejus personæ ita alligata est propria primatus dignitas et jurisdictio ut nulli alii Episcopo præstantiorum licet sedium, et minus multo pluribus aliis Episcopis quantumvis in unum collectis, possit adscribi : neque in eâ jurisdictione primatus essentiali Romanus Pontifex dependere ab alio quopiam debet aut potest, cum præsertim ipsam a Christo acceptam idem Christus nulla conditione

From these statements it follows :

1. First, that what depends on no other is altogether independent.

2. Secondly, that what is circumscribed by no condition is absolute.

3. Thirdly, that what is by God committed to one alone, depends on God alone.

But perhaps it will be said that all this relates not to infallibility, but to the power of jurisdiction only.

To this I answer :

1. That if the primacy be personal, all its prerogatives are personal.

2. That the doctrinal authority of the Pontiff is a part of his jurisdiction, and is therefore personal.

3. That infallibility is, as the Definition expressly declares, a supernatural grace, or *charisma*, attached to the primacy in order to its proper exercise. Infallibility is a quality of the doctrinal jurisdiction of the Pontiff in faith and morals.

And such also is the doctrine of Ballerini, who lays down the following propositions :

‘Unity with the Roman faith is absolutely necessary, and therefore the prerogative of absolute infallibility is to be ascribed to it, and a coercive power to constrain to unity of faith, in like manner, absolute; as also the infallibility and coercive power of the Catholic Church itself, which is bound to adhere to the faith of Rome, is absolute.’ *

circumscriptam, personalem solius Petri ac successorum esse instituerit, uti primatum jurisdictionis instituit personalem, qui sine personali jurisdictione intelligi nequit.--Ballerini, *de Vi et Ratione Primatus*, cap. iii. sect. 4, p. 13.

* Ballerini, *de Vi et Rat. Primatus* : Unitas cum Romana fide abso-

But Ballerini has declared that whatsoever is ascribed to the Roman See, Cathedra, or Church is to be ascribed to the person of the Roman Pontiff only. Therefore this infallibility and coercive power are to be ascribed to him, and are personal.

Here we have the infallibility personal, independent, and absolute, fully and explicitly taught by two chief theologians of great repute.

But hitherto we have not met the word *separate*, though in truth the word *solè*, or *alone*, is equivalent.

I will therefore add certain quotations from the great Dominican School.

Bzovius, the continuator of the Annals of Baronius, says, ‘To Peter alone, and after him to all the Roman Pontiffs legitimately succeeding, the privilege of infallibility, as it is called, was conceded by the Prince of Pastors, Christ who is God.’ *

Dominicus Marchese writes: ‘This privilege was conceded to the successors of Peter alone without the assistance of the College of Cardinals;’ and again, ‘To the Roman Pontiff alone, in the person of Peter, was committed the care of the Universal Church, and firmness, and certainty in defining matters of faith.’ †

lute necessaria est, ac proinde infallibilitatis prærogativa absoluta illi est tribuenda, et vis coactiva ad fidei unitatem pariter absoluta: sicuti absoluta est item infallibilitas et vis coactiva ipsius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ Romanæ fidei adhærere oportet. Appendix De infall. Pont. Prop. vii.

* ‘Soli Petro et post eum omnibus Romanis Pontificibus legitime sedentibus, infallibilitatis quod vocant privilegium, a Principe pastorum Christo Deo concessum, ut in rebus fidei, morum doctrina, et universalis Ecclesiæ administratione certissima nullaque fallaciæ nota inumbrata decreta veritatis ipsius radio scribant edicant et sanciant.’—Bzovius *de Pontifice Romano*, cap. xiv. p. 106; apud Rocaberti, Biblioth. Pontif. tom. i. Rome, 1698.

† ‘Soli Petro secluso ab Apostolis ac proinde soli eius successoribus

Gravina teaches as follows: 'To the Pontiff, as one (person) and alone, it was given to be the head;' and again, 'The Roman Pontiff for the time being is one, therefore he alone has infallibility.'*

Vincentius Ferré says, 'The exposition of certain Paris (doctors) is of no avail, who affirm that Christ only promised that the faith should not fail of the Church founded upon Peter; and not that it should not fail in the successors of Peter taken apart from (seorsum) the Church.' He adds that our Lord said, 'I have prayed for thee, Peter; sufficiently showing that the infallibility was not promised to the Church as apart from (seorsum) the head, but promised to the head, that from him it should be derived to the Church.'†

Marchese, before quoted, repeats the same words,

Summo Pontifici secluso Cardinalium Collegio hoc privilegium concessit.—Marchese, *de Capite visibili Ecclesiæ*, disput. iii. dub. 2, p. 719; apud Rocaberti, tom. ix.

'Soli Romano Pontifici in persona Petri commissa est cura totius Ecclesiæ et firmitas et certitudo in definiendo res fidei.'—Marchese, disput. v. dub. 1, sect. 2, p. 785; apud Rocaberti, tom. ix.

* 'Uni et soli Pontifici datum est esse caput.'—Gravina, *de supremo Judice contro. Fidei*, quæst. i. apud Rocaberti, tom. viii. p. 392.

'Nullus in terra reperitur alter, qui cæteris sit in fide firmior et constantior sciatur esse quam unus Pontifex Romanus pro tempore; ergo et ipse *solus* habet infallibilitatem.'—Gravina, quæst. ii. apud Rocaberti, tom. viii. p. 422.

† 'Nec valet expositio aliquorum Parisiensium affirmantium hic Christum tantum promisisse fidem non defecturam Ecclesiæ fundatæ super Petrum, non vero promisisse non defecturam in successoribus Petri seorsum ab Ecclesia sumptis. Christus dicens, ego autem rogavi pro te Petre, satis designat hanc infallibilitatem non promissam Ecclesiæ ut seorsum a capite, sed promissam capiti, ut ex illo derivetur ad Ecclesiam.'—Ferre, *De Fide*, quæst. xii. apud Rocaberti, tom. xx. p. 388.

‘The infallibility in faith which (our Lord) promised, not to the Church apart from (seorsum) the head, but to the head, that from him it should be derived to the Church.’* Billuart also says ‘(Christ) makes a clear distinction of Peter from the rest of the Apostles, and from the whole Church, when He says, And thou, &c.’†

Peter Soto writes: ‘When this (Pasce oves meas, &c.) was said to Peter in the presence of the rest of the Apostles, it was said to Peter as one, and as apart from (seorsum) the rest.’‡

And Marchese again, ‘Therefore to Peter alone set apart from the Apostles (secluso ab Apostolis), and therefore to his successor alone, the Supreme Pontiff, set apart from the College of Cardinals, He (our Lord) conceded this privilege.’§

Lastly, F. Gatti, the learned professor of theology of the Dominican Order at this day, writing of the words, ‘I have prayed for thee,’ &c., says, ‘indefectibility is promised to Peter apart from (seorsum)

* ‘Satis designat infallibilitatem in fide quam promisit, non Ecclesiæ seorsum a Capite sed Capiti ut ex illo derivetur ad Ecclesiam.’—Marchese, *de capite Visib. Eccles.* disput. iii. dub. 2; apud Rocaberti, tom. ix. p. 719.

† ‘Facit enim apertam distinctionem Petri ab aliis apostolis et a tota Ecclesia cum dicit, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.’—Billuart, *de Regulis Fidei*, dissert. iv. art. 5, sect. 2, tom. iv. p. 78. Venice, 1787.

‡ ‘Dum vero hoc Petro coram cæteris apostolis dicitur, uni, inquam, Petro et a cæteris seorsum.’—Petrus Soto, *Defensio Catholicæ Confessionis*, cap. 82, apud Rocaberti, tom. xviii. p. 73.

§ ‘Ergo soli Petro secluso ab Apostolis ac proinde soli ejus successor summo Pontifici, secluso Cardinalium collegio, hoc privilegium concessit.’—Marchese, *de Capite visib. Eccles.* disp. iii. dub. 2; apud Rocaberti, tom. ix. p. 715.

the Church, or from the Apostles; but it is not promised to the Apostles, or to the Church, apart from (seorsum) the head, or with the head,' and afterwards he adds, 'Therefore Peter, even apart from (seorsum) the Church, is infallible.'*

Muzzarelli, in his treatise on the primacy and infallibility of the Pontiff, uses the same terms again and again; of which the following is an example. Speaking as in the person of the Pontiff, he says, 'If I *separately* from a Council propose any truth to be believed by the Universal Church, it is most certain that I cannot err.'†

In like manner Mauro Cappellari, afterwards Gregory XVI., affirms that the supreme judge of controversies is the Pontiff, 'distinct and *separate* from all other Bishops: and that his decree in things of faith ought by them to be held without doubt.'‡

Lastly, Clement VI., in the fourteenth century, proposed to the Armenians certain interrogations, of which the fourth is as follows:

'Hast thou believed, and dost thou still believe, that the Roman Pontiff *alone*, can by an authentic

* 'Indefectibilitas promittitur Petro seorsum ab Ecclesia seu ab Apostolis; non vero promittitur Apostolis seu Ecclesiæ sive seorsum a capite, sive una cum capite.—Ergo Petrus etiam seorsum ab Ecclesia spectatus est infallibilis.'—Gatti, *Institutiones Apologetico-Polemicæ*. apud Bianchi *de Constitutione Monarchica Ecclesiæ*, p. 124. Rome, 1870.

† 'Ne viene che se anch' io separatamente dal concilio vorrò proporre alla chiesa universale la verità da credersi su questo articolo, non potrò certamente errare.'—Muzzarelli, *Primato ed Infallibilità del Papa*, in *Il Buon Uso della Logica*, tom. i. p. 183. Florence, 1821.

‡ Il Trionfo della Santa Sede, Cap. v. Sect. 10, p. 124. Venezia, 1832.

determination to which we must inviolably adhere, put an end to doubts which arise concerning the Catholic faith; and that whatsoever he, by the authority of the keys delivered to him by Christ, determines to be true, is true and Catholic; and what he determines to be false and heretical is to be so esteemed? '*

In the above passages we have infallibility personal, absolute, independent, without the Apostles, without the College of Cardinals, alone, apart from the Church, separate from Councils and from Bishops.

I am not aware of any modern writer who has used language so explicit and fearless.

We will now ascertain the scholastic meaning of these terms; and we shall see that they are in precise accordance with the definition of the Council.

You need not be reminded, Reverend and dear Brethren, of the terminology of Canonists in treating the subject of privileges.

A privilege is a right, or faculty bestowed upon persons, places, or things.

Privileges therefore are of three kinds, personal, real, and mixed.†

A personal privilege is that which attaches to the person as such.

A real privilege attaches either to a place, or to a thing, or to an office.

* 'Si credidisti et adhuc credis solum Romanum Pontificem, dubiis emergentibus circa fidem catholicam posse per determinationem authenticam cui sit inviolabiliter adhærendum, finem imponere et esse verum et Catholicum quidquid ipse auctoritate clavium sibi traditarum a Christo determinat esse verum; et quod determinat esse falsum et hæreticum sit censendum.'—Baronius, tom. xxv. ad ann. 1351, p. 529. Lucca, 1750.

† Reiffenstuel. Tit. de Privileg. lib. v. 34, 12.

A mixed privilege may be both personal and real; it may also attach to a community or body of persons, as to an University, or a College, or a Chapter.

The primacy, including jurisdiction and infallibility, is a privilege attaching to the person of Peter and of his successors. It is therefore a personal privilege in the Pontiffs.

It is personal, as Toletus says, because it cannot be communicated to others. It is not a real privilege attached to the See, or Cathedra, or Church of Rome, and therefore to the person; but to the person of the Roman Pontiff, and therefore, to the See.

It is not a mixed privilege, attaching to the Pontiff, only in union with a community or body, such as the Episcopate, congregated or dispersed; but attaching to his person, because inherent in the primacy, which he alone personally bears.

The use of the word *personal* is therefore precise and correct, according to the scholastic terminology; not, indeed, according to the sense of newspaper theologians. Theology, like chancery law, has its technical language; and the common sense of Englishmen would keep them from using it in any other meaning.

In this sense it is that the Dominican theologian De Fiume says, 'There are two things . . . in Peter: one personal, and another public; as Pastor and Head of the Church. Some things therefore belong to the person of Peter alone, and do not pass to his successors; as the saying, Get thee behind me Satan . . . and the like. Some, again, are spoken of him as a *public person*, and by reason of his office

as supreme Head and Pastor of the Universal Church, as, Feed My sheep, &c.*

Therefore, infallibility is the privilege of Peter not as a private person, but as a public person holding the primacy over the Universal Church.

In the Pastoral addressed to you so long ago as the year 1867, this was pointed out in the unmistakable words of Cardinal Sfondratus. 'The Pontiff,' he says, 'does some things as a man, some things as a prince, some as doctor, some as Pope, that is, as head and foundation of the Church; and it is only to these (last-named) actions that we attribute the gift of infallibility. The others we leave to his human condition. As then not every action of the Pope is papal, so not every action of the Pope enjoys the papal privilege.' †

The value therefore of this traditional language of the schools is evident.

When the infallibility of the Pontiff is said to be personal, it is to exclude all doubt as to the source from which infallibility is derived; and to declare

* 'Duo namque sunt in Petro. Unum personale et aliud publicum, ut Pastor et caput Ecclesiæ. Quædam ergo tantummodo personæ Petri conveniunt, ad successores non transeunt; ut quod dicatur: Vade post me, Satana, et similia. Quædam vero dicuntur de eo quatenus est persona publica, et ratione officii Supremi Capitis et Pastoris Ecclesiæ universalis; ut Pasce oves meas, &c.'—Ignatius de Fiume, *Schola veritatis orthodoxæ*, apud Bianchi, *de Constitutione Monarchica Ecclesiæ*, p. 88. Rome, 1870.

† 'Pontifex aliqua facit ut homo, aliqua ut Princeps, aliqua ut Doctor, aliqua ut Papa, hoc est ut caput et fundamentum Ecclesiæ: et his solis actionibus privilegium infallibilitatis adscribimus: alias humanæ conditioni relinquimus: sicut ergo non omnis actio Papæ est papalis, ita non omnis actio Papæ papali privilegio gaudet.'—Sfondrati, *Regale Sacerdotium*, lib. iii. sec. 1.

that it is not a *privilegium mixtum* inherent in the Episcopate, or communicated by it to the head of the Church; but a special assistance of the Spirit of Truth attaching to the primacy, and therefore to the person who bears the primacy, Peter and his successors; conferred on them by Christ Himself for the confirmation of the Church in faith.

2. Next, as to the term *separate*. The sense in which theologians have used this term is obvious. They universally and precisely apply it to express the same idea as the word *personal*; namely, that in the possession and exercise of this privilege of infallibility the successor of Peter depends on no one but God. The meaning of decapitation, decollation, and cutting off, of a headless body, and a bodiless head, I have hardly been able to persuade myself, has ever, by serious men, at least in serious moods, been imputed to such words as *separatim*, *seorsum*, or *seclusis Episcopis*.

My reason for this doubt is, that such a monstrous sense includes at least six heresies; and I could hardly think that any Catholic would fail to know this, or, knowing it, would impute it to Catholics, still less to Bishops of the Church.

The words *seorsum*, &c., may have two meanings, one obviously false, the other as obviously true.

The former sense would be disunion of the head from the body of the Episcopate and the faithful, or separation from Catholic communion; the latter, an independent action in the exercise of his supreme office.

And first of the former:

1. It is *de fide*, or matter of faith, that the head of

the Church, as such, can never be separated, either from the *Ecclesia docens*, or the *Ecclesia discens*; that is, either from the Episcopate or from the faithful.

To suppose this, would be to deny the perpetual indwelling office of the Holy Ghost in the Church, by which the mystical body is knit together; the head to the Body, the Body to the head, the members to each other; and to 'dissolve Jesus,'* that is, to destroy the perfect symmetry and organisation which the Apostle describes as the body of Christ; and St. Augustine speaks of as 'one man, head and body, Christ and the Church a perfect man.'† On this unity all the properties and endowments of the Church depend; indefectibility, unity, infallibility. As the Church can never be separated from its invisible Head, so never from its visible head.

2. Secondly, it is matter of faith that the *Ecclesia docens* or the Episcopate, to which together with Peter, and as it were, in one person with him, the assistance of the Holy Ghost was promised, can never be dissolved; but it would be dissolved if it were separated from its head. Such separation would destroy the infallibility of the Church itself. The *Ecclesia docens* would cease to exist; but this is impossible, and without heresy cannot be supposed.

3. Thirdly, it is also matter of faith that not only no separation of communion, but even no disunion of doctrine and faith between the Head and the Body,

* St. John iv. 3, 'Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum,' &c.

† 'Unus homo caput et corpus, unus homo Christus et Ecclesia vir perfectus.'—S. Augustin. *In Psalm xviii.* tom. iv. p. 85, 86, ed. Ben. Paris, 1681.

that is, between the *Ecclesia docens* and *discens*, can ever exist. Both are infallible; the one actively, in teaching, the other passively, in believing; and both are therefore inseparably, because necessarily, united in one faith. Even though a number of bishops should fall away, as in the Arian and Nestorian heresies, yet the Episcopate could never fall away. It would always remain united, by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, to its head; and the reason of this inseparable union is precisely the infallibility of its head. Because its head can never err, it, as a body, can never err. How many soever, as individuals, should err and fall away from the truth, the Episcopate would remain, and therefore never be disunited from its head in teaching or believing. Even a minority of the Bishops united to the head, would be the Episcopate of the Universal Church. They, therefore, and they only, teach the possibility of such a separation, who assert that the Pontiff may fall into error. But they who deny his infallibility do expressly assert the possibility of such a separation. And yet it is they who have imputed to the defenders of the Pontifical infallibility, that separation which on 'Ultramontane' principles is impossible; but, on the principles of those who lay the charge, such a separation is not only possible, but even of probable occurrence.

So far, we have spoken of the idea of separation from communion, or disunion in faith and doctrine. But further, the separate or independent exercise of the supreme Pontifical authority in no way imports separation or disunion of any kind.

1. It is *de fide* that the plenitude of jurisdiction was given to Peter and his successors; and that its exercise over the whole body, pastors and people, imports no separation or disunion from the Body. How then should the exercise of infallibility, which is attached to that jurisdiction, import separation?

2. Again, it is *de fide* that this supreme jurisdiction and infallibility was given to maintain and perpetuate the unity of the Church. How then can its exercise produce separation, which it is divinely ordained to prevent?

It is therefore *de fide* that its exercise excludes separation, and binds the whole Church, both Body and Head, in closer bonds of communion, doctrine and faith.

3. Lastly, it is *de fide* that in the assistance promised to Peter and his successors, all the means necessary for its due exercise are contained. An infallible office fallibly exercised is a contradiction in terms. The infallibility of the head consists in this, that he is guided both as to the means and as to the end. It is therefore contrary to faith to say, that the independent exercise of this office, divinely assisted, can import separation or disunion of any kind. It is a part of the promise, that in the selection of the means of its exercise, the successor of Peter will not err. If he erred as to the means, either he would err as to the end, or he would be preserved only by a series of miracles. In escaping from the supernatural, the objectors fall into the miraculous. The Catholic doctrine of infallibility invokes no such interventions. It affirms that a Divine assistance, pro-

portionate to the burden of the primacy, is attached to it as a condition of its ordinary exercise, *in bonum Ecclesiæ*. The freedom as well as the prudence of the Pontiffs, in selecting the means of exercising their office of universal Doctor, is carefully expressed in the fourth chapter of this Constitution. 'The Roman Pontiffs, as the state of times and events induced them, sometimes by convoking Œcumenical Councils, or by ascertaining the mind of the Church dispersed throughout the world, sometimes by local Synods, sometimes by employing other helps which Divine providence supplied, have defined, as truths to be held, such things as they by God's assistance knew to be in harmony with the Scriptures and Apostolical traditions.' *

It may be well here to add two passages which complete this subject.

Melchior Canus says: 'Inasmuch as God promised firmness of faith to the Church, He cannot be wanting to it, so as not to bestow upon the Church prayers and other helps whereby that firmness is preserved. Nor can it be doubted that what happens in natural things, the same occurs in supernatural; namely, that he who gives the end gives the means to the end.'

'If God should promise an abundant harvest next year, what could be more foolish than to doubt whether men would sow seeds in the earth? So will I never admit that either Pontiff or Council have omitted any necessary diligence in deciding questions of faith. It might happen to any private

* Constit. Dogmat. Prima, de Eccl. Christi, cap. iv.

man, that he should not use diligent attention in seeking truth, and yet to do so should entirely give himself to the work, and, though his error be inculpable, nevertheless fall into error. But even inculpable error is far from the Church of God, as we have proved in a former book. Which fact is an abundant argument that neither Pontiff nor Council has omitted, in deliberation, any necessary thing.' 'Let us therefore grant that to the Judges constituted by God in the Church, none of those things can be wanting which are necessary for a right and true judgment.'*

Cerboni, a theologian of the Dominican order, says :

'When once anything of faith has been defined by the Supreme Pontiff, it is not permitted to doubt whether he has used all diligence before such definition.'

* 'Cum Ecclesiæ fidei firmitatem fuerit pollicitus, deesse non potest quominus tribuat Ecclesiæ preces, cæteraque præsidia, quibus hæc firmitas conservatur. Nec vero dubitari potest, quod in rebus naturalibus contingit, idem in supernaturalibus usu venire; ut qui dat finem, det consequentia ad finem.—Quod si Deus in sequentem annum frugum abundantiam polliceretur, ecquid stultius esse posset quam dubitare, an homines semina terræ mandaturi sint?—Ita nunquam ego admittam aut Pontificem aut concilium diligentiam aliquam necessariam quæstionibus fidei decernendis omisisse. Id quod privato cuicumque alteri homini accidere potest, ut nec diligentem navet operam ad disquirendam veritatem, et ut navaverit integrumque sese in ea re præstiterit, errat adhuc tamen, quamvis error sine culpa sit. Error autem vel inculpatus ab Ecclesia Dei longissime abest, quemadmodum libro superiore constituimus. Quæ res abunde magno argumento est ut nec Pontifex nec concilia necessarium quicquam in deliberando prætermiserint.—Concedamus ergo iudicibus a Deo in Ecclesia constitutis nihil eorum deesse posse, quæ ad rectum verumque iudicium sunt necessaria.'—Melchior Canus, *De Locis Theologicis*, lib. v. cap. 5, pp. 120, 121. Venice, 1776.

‘It absolutely cannot be said, that the means necessary for the Supreme Pontiff in the investigation of truth have been neglected by him, even though he should be supposed to have defined anything *ex cathedra*, without first seeking the judgment of others.’

‘The privilege of infallibility, when the Supreme Pontiff defines anything *ex cathedra*, is to be ascribed not to those whom he has previously consulted, but to the Roman Pontiff himself.

‘Inasmuch as the truth and certainty of those things which are defined “*ex cathedra*” depend on the authority and infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, it is not necessarily requisite, that he should first consult these (counsellors) rather than others, this rather than that body, concerning the matter which he is about to define *ex cathedra*.’ *

From all that has been said, three things are beyond question; first, that the privilege of infallibility in the head of the Church, neither by its possession nor by

* ‘Semel ac a Summo Pontifice quidpiam ad fidem spectans definitum habeatur, dubitare non licet, utrum omnem diligentiam ante hujusmodi definitionem ille præmiserit.

Quæ ad investigandam veritatem media in summo Pontifice requiruntur, ab eo neglecta fuisse, absolute dici non potest, etiamsi aliorum non exquisita sententia quidpiam *ex cathedra* definiisse præsupponatur.

Privilegium infallibilitatis, dum a Summo Pontifice aliquid *ex cathedra* definitur, non iis qui antea consulti fuerint, sed ipsi Romano Pontifici tribui debet.

Ex eo quod veritas et certitudo eorum quæ *ex cathedra* definiuntur, a Summi Pontificis auctoritate et infallibilitate pendeant, non necessario requiritur, ut Summus Pontifex de eo quod est *ex cathedra* definiturus, hos vel illos potius quam alios hunc vel illum cætum præ alio antea consulat.’—Ceroni, *De Jure et Legum Disciplina*, lib. 23, cap. 6, apud Bianchi de constitutione mon. Eccles. p. 158. Rome, 1870.

its exercise, can in any way import separation or disunion between the head and the body. Such a supposition involves, as we have seen, heretical notions at every turn. The very reverse is true: that the supreme privilege of infallibility in the head is the divinely ordained means to sustain for ever the unity of the Universal Church in communion, faith, and doctrine.

And further, that the independent exercise of this privilege by the head of the Episcopate, and as distinct from the Bishops, is the divinely ordained means of the perpetual unity of the Episcopate in communion and faith with its head and with its own members.

And lastly, that though the consent of the Episcopate or the Church be not required, as a condition, to the intrinsic value of the infallible definitions of the Roman Pontiff, nevertheless, it cannot without heresy be said or conceived that the consent of the Episcopate and of the Church can ever be absent. For if the Pontiff be divinely assisted, both the active and the passive infallibility of the Church exclude such a supposition as heretical. To deny such infallible assistance now after the definition, is heresy. And even before the definition, to deny it was proximate to heresy, because it was a revealed truth, and a Divine fact, on which the unity of the Church has depended from the beginning.

From what has been said, the precise meaning of the terms before us may be easily fixed.

1. The privilege of infallibility is *personal*, inasmuch as it attaches to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of

Peter, as a *public person*, distinct from, but inseparably united to, the Church; but it is not personal, in that it is attached, not to the private person, but to the primacy, which he alone possesses.

2. It is also *independent*, inasmuch as it does not depend upon either the *Ecclesia docens* or the *Ecclesia discens*; but it is not independent, in that it depends in all things upon the Divine Head of the Church; upon the institution of the primacy by Him, and upon the assistance of the Holy Ghost.

3. It is *absolute*, inasmuch as it can be circumscribed by no human or ecclesiastical law; it is not absolute, in that it is circumscribed by the office of guarding, expounding, and defending the deposit of revelation.

4. It is *separate* in no sense, nor can be, nor can so be called, without manifold heresy, unless the word be taken to mean *distinct*. In this sense, the Roman Pontiff is distinct from the Episcopate, and is a distinct subject of infallibility; and in the exercise of his supreme doctrinal authority, or magisterium, he does not depend for the infallibility of his definitions upon the consent or consultation of the Episcopate, but only on the Divine assistance of the Holy Ghost.

CHAPTER IV.

SCIENTIFIC HISTORY AND THE CATHOLIC RULE OF FAITH.

IT may here be well to answer an objection which is commonly supposed to lie against the doctrine of the Pontifical Infallibility ; namely, that the evidence of history is opposed to it.

The answer is twofold.

1. First, that the evidence of history distinctly proves the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

I shall be told that this is to beg the question.

To which I answer, they also who affirm the contrary beg the question.

Both sides appeal to history, and with equal confidence; sometimes with equal clamour, and often equally in vain.

By some people 'The Pope and the Council,' by Janus, is regarded as the most unanswerable work of scientific history hitherto published.

By others it is regarded as the shallowest and most pretentious book of the day.

Between such contradictory judgments who is to decide? Is there any tribunal of appeal in matters of history? or is there no ultimate judge? Is history a road where no one can err; or is it a wilderness in which we must wander without guide or path? are

we all left to private judgment alone? If any one say, that there is no judge but right reason or common sense, he is only reproducing in history what Luther applied to the Bible.

This theory may be intellectually and morally possible to those who are not Catholics. In Catholics such a theory is simple heresy. That there is an ultimate judge in such matters of history as affect the truths of revelation, is a dogma of faith. But into this we will enter hereafter.

For the present, I will make only one other observation.

Let us suppose that the divinity of our Lord were in controversy. Let us suppose that two hundred and fifty-six passages from the Fathers were adduced to prove that Jesus Christ is God. These two hundred and fifty-six passages, we will say, may be distributed into three classes; the first consisting of a great number, in which the divinity of our Lord is explicitly and unmistakably declared; the second, a greater number which so assume or imply it as to be inexplicable upon any other hypothesis; the third, also numerous, capable of the same interpretation, and incapable of the contrary interpretation, though in themselves inexplicit.

We will suppose, next, one passage to exist in some one of the Fathers, the aspect of which is adverse. Its language is apparently contradictory to the hypothesis that Jesus Christ is God. Its terms are explicit; and, if taken at the letter, cannot be reconciled with the doctrine of His divinity.

I need only remind you of St. Justin Martyr's

argument that the Angel who appeared to Moses in the bush could not be the Father, but the Son, because the Father could not be manifested 'in a narrow space on earth;'^{*} or even of the words of our Divine Lord Himself, 'The Father is greater than I.'[†]

Now I would ask, what course would any man of just and considerate intelligence pursue in such a case?

Would he say, one broken link destroys a chain? One such passage adverse to the divinity of Christ outweighs two hundred and fifty-six passages to the contrary?

Would this be scientific history? Or would it be scientific to assume that the one passage, however apparently explicit and adverse, can bear only one sense, and cannot in any other way be explained? If so, scientific historians are bound to the literal *prima facie* sense of the words of St. Justin Martyr, and of our Lord above quoted.

Still, supposing the one passage to remain explicit and adverse, and therefore an insoluble difficulty, I would ask whether any but a Socinian, ὑποθέσει δουλεύων, servilely bound, and pledged by the perverseness of controversy, would reject the whole cumulus of explicit and constructive evidence contained in two hundred and fifty-six passages, because of one adverse passage of insoluble difficulty? People must be happily unconscious of the elements which underlie the whole basis of their most confident beliefs

^{*} Dialog. cum Tryph. sect. 60, p. 157. Ed. Ben. Paris, 1742.

[†] St. John xiv. 28.

if they would so proceed. But into this I will not enter now. Enough to say, that such a procedure would be so far from scientific that it would be superficial, unintellectual, and absurd. I would ask, then, is it science, or is it passion, to reject the cumulus of evidence which surrounds the infallibility of two hundred and fifty-six pontiffs, because of the case of Honorius, even if supposed to be an insoluble difficulty? Real science would teach us that in the most certain systems there are residual phenomena which long remain as insoluble difficulties, without in the least diminishing the certainty of the system itself.

But, further, the case of Honorius is not an insoluble difficulty.

In the judgment of a cloud of the greatest theologians of all countries, schools, and languages, since the controversy was opened two hundred years ago, the case of Honorius has been completely solved. Nay more, it has been used with abundant evidence, drawn from the very same acts and documents, to prove the direct contrary hypothesis, namely, the infallibility of the Roman pontiffs. But into this again I shall not enter. It is enough for my present argument to affirm that inasmuch as the case of Honorius has been for centuries disputed, it is disputable. Again, inasmuch as it has been interpreted with equal confidence for and against the infallibility of the Roman pontiff—and I may add that they who have cleared Honorius of personal heresy, are an overwhelming majority compared with their opponents, and let it be said for argument's sake, and with more than moderation, that the probability of their interpretations at least equals

that of the opponents—for all these reasons I may, with safety, affirm that, if the case of Honorius be not solved, it is certainly not insoluble; and that the long, profuse, and confident controversy of men whom I will assume to be sincere, reasonable, and learned on both sides, proves beyond question that the case of Honorius is doubtful.

I would ask, then, is it scientific, or passionate to reject the cumulus of evidence surrounding the line of two hundred and fifty-six pontiffs, because one case may be found which is doubtful? doubtful, too, be it remembered, only on the theory that history is a wilderness without guide or path; in no way doubtful to those who, as a dogma of faith, believe that the revelation of faith was anterior to its history and is independent of it, being divinely secured by the presence and assistance of Him who gave it.

And this is a sufficient answer to the case of Honorius, which of all controversies is the most useless, barren, and irrelevant.

I should hardly have thought, at this time of day, that any theologian or scholar would have brought up again the cases of Vigilius, Liberius, John XXII., &c. But as these often-refuted and senseless contentions have been renewed, I give in the note references to the works and places in which they are abundantly answered.*

Such is the first part of the answer to the alleged opposition of history.

2. We will now proceed to the second and more complete reply.

* Appendix, p. 223.

The true and conclusive answer to this objection consists, not in detailed refutation of alleged difficulties, but in a principle of faith ; namely, that whensoever any doctrine is contained in the Divine tradition of the Church, all difficulties from human history are excluded, as Tertullian lays down, by prescription. The only source of revealed truth is God, the only channel of His revelation is the Church. No human history can declare what is contained in that revelation. The Church alone can determine its limits, and therefore its contents.

When then the Church, out of the proper fountains of truth, the Word of God, written and unwritten, declares any doctrine to be revealed, no difficulties of human history can prevail against it. I have before said: 'The pretentious historical criticism of these days has prevailed, and will prevail, to undermine the peace and the confidence, and even the faith of some. But the city seated on a hill is still there, high and out of reach. It cannot be hid, and *is its own evidence, anterior to its history, and independent of it. Its history is to be learned of itself.*' 'It is not therefore by criticism on past history, but by acts of faith in the living voice of the Church at this hour, that we can know the faith.' *

On these words of mine, Quirinus makes the following not very profound remark: 'The faith which removes mountains will be equally ready—such is clearly his meaning—to make away with the facts of history. Whether any German Bishop will be found to offer his countrymen these stones to digest,

* Pastoral, &c., 1869, p. 125.

time will show.’* Time has shown, faster than Quirinus looked for. The German Bishops at Fulda, in their pastoral letter on the Council, speak as follows : ‘ To maintain that either the one or the other of the doctrines decided by the General Council is not contained in the Holy Scripture, and in the tradition of the Church—those two sources of the Catholic faith—or that they are even in opposition to the same, is a first step, irreconcilable with the very first principles of the Catholic Church, which leads to separation from her communion. Wherefore, we hereby declare that the present Vatican Council is a legitimate General Council ; and, moreover, that this Council, as little as any other General Council, has propounded or formed a new doctrine at variance with the ancient teaching, but has simply developed and thrown light upon the old and faithfully-preserved truth contained in the deposit of faith, and in opposition to the errors of the day has proposed it expressly to the belief of all faithful people ; and, lastly, that these decrees have received a binding power on all the faithful by the fact of their final publication by the Supreme Head of the Church in solemn form at the Public Session.’ †

Let us, then, go on to examine the relation of history to faith.

The objection from history has been stated in these words : ‘ There are grave difficulties, from the words and acts of the Fathers of the Church, from the genuine documents of history, and from the doctrine

* Letters from Rome, &c. by Quirinus, second series, p. 348-9.

† Times, Sept. 22, 1870.

of the Church itself, which must be altogether solved, before the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff can be proposed to the faithful as a doctrine revealed by God.'

Are we to understand from this that the words and acts of the Fathers, and the documents of human history, constitute the Rule of Faith, or that the Rule of Faith depends upon them, and is either more or less certain as it agrees or disagrees with them? or, in other words, that the rule of faith is to be tested by history, not history by the rule of faith? If this be so, then they who so argue lay down as a theological principle that the doctrinal authority of the Church, and therefore the certainty of dogma, depends, if not altogether, at least in part, on human history. From this it would follow that when critical or scientific historians find, or suppose themselves to find, a difficulty in the writings of the Fathers or other human histories, the doctrines proposed by the Church as of Divine revelation are to be called into doubt, unless such difficulties can be solved. The gravity of this objection is such, that the principle on which it rests is undoubtedly either a doctrine of faith or a heresy.

In order to determine whether it be the one or the other, let us examine first what is the authority and place of human history.

To do so surely and shortly, I will transcribe the rules of Melchior Canus, which may be taken as the doctrine of all theological Schools.

The eleventh chapter of his work '*De Locis Theologicis*,' is entitled '*de Humanæ Historiæ Auctoritate*.' In it he lays down the following principles:

1. 'Excepting the sacred authors, no historian can be *certain*, that is, sufficient to constitute a certain faith in theological matter. As this is obvious and manifest to every one, it has no need to be proved by our arguments.

2. 'Historians of weight, and worthy of confidence, as some without doubt have been, both in Ecclesiastical and in secular matters, furnish to a theologian, *a probable argument*.

3. 'If all approved historians of weight concur in the same narrative of an event, then from their authority a *certain* argument can be educed, so that the dogmas of theology may be confirmed also by reason.' *

Let us apply these rules to the case of Honorius, and to the alleged historical difficulties. Is this one in which 'all approved historians of weight concur in the same narration of events?' In the case of Honorius, it is well known that great discrepancy prevails among historical critics. The histories themselves are of doubtful interpretation. But the Rule of Faith is the Divine tradition of revelation proposed to us by the *magisterium*, or doctrinal authority, of the Church. Against this, no such historical difficulties can prevail. Into this they cannot enter. They are excluded, as I have said, by a prescription which has its origin in the Divine institution of the Church. The revelation of the faith, and the institution of the Church, were both perfect and complete, not only before human histories existed, but even before the inspired Scrip-

* Melchior Canus, *Loci theol.* lib. xi. c. 4.

tures were written. The Church itself is the Divine witness, teacher, and judge, of the revelation entrusted to it. There exists no other. There is no tribunal to which appeal from the Church can lie. There is no co-ordinate witness, teacher, or judge, who can revise, or criticize, or test, the teaching of the Church. It is sole and alone in the world. And to it may be applied the words of St. Paul, as St. John Chrysostom has applied them: 'The spiritual man judgeth all things and he himself is judged by no one.' The *Ecclesia docens*, or the pastors of the Church, with their head, are a witness divinely sustained and guided to guard and to declare the faith. They were antecedent to history, and are independent of it. The sources from which they draw their testimony of the faith are not in human histories, but in Apostolical tradition, in Scripture, in Creeds, in the Liturgy, in the public worship and law of the Church, in Councils: and in the interpretation of all these things by the supreme authority of the Church itself.

The Church has indeed a history. Its course and its acts have been recorded by human hands. It has its annals, like the empire of Rome or of Britain. But its history is no more than its footprints in time, which record indeed, but cause nothing and create nothing.

The tradition of the Church may be historically treated; but between history and the tradition of the Church there is a clear distinction. The school of scientific historians, if I understand it, lays down as a principle that history is tradition, and tradition

history: that they are one and the same thing under two names. This seems to be the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of their system; it is a tacit elimination of the supernatural, and of the Divine authority of the Church.

The tradition of the Church is not human in its origin, in its perpetuity, in its immutability. The matter of that tradition is Divine. But history, excepting so far as it is contained in the tradition of the Church, is not Divine but human, and human in its mutability, uncertainty, and corruption. The matter of it is human. Under the name 'tradition' come two elements altogether Divine; namely, that which is handed down as the Word of God written and unwritten, and the mode of handing it down, which is the 'magisterium' or teaching authority of the Church. But against neither the one nor the other of these things can human histories, written by men not inspired by the Spirit of God, not seldom inspired by any other than the Spirit of God, prevail; because against the Church the gates of hell cannot prevail. The visible Church itself is Divine tradition. It is also the Divine depository, and the Divine guardian of Faith. But this Divine tradition contains both the 'Ecclesia docens' and the 'Ecclesia discens;' both infallible, the latter passively, the former passively and actively, by the perpetual assistance of the Spirit of Truth. It contains also the Creed of the Universal Church, the decrees of Pontiffs, the definitions of Councils, the common and constant doctrine of the Church delivered by its living voice in all the world, of which our Divine Lord said, 'He that heareth you, heareth Me.' *

* See Appendix, p. 187.

Now if this be so, of what weight or authority is human history in matters of faith ?

For instance, the Vatican Council affirms that the doctrine of the immutable stability of Peter and of his successors in the faith, and therefore the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith and morals, in virtue of a Divine assistance promised to St. Peter, and in Peter to his successors, is a revealed truth.

What has human history to say to this declaration ? Human history is neither the source nor the channel of revelation.

Scientific history may, however, mean a scientific handling of the Divine tradition and the authoritative documents of the Church. But before these things can be thus scientifically handled, they must be first taken out of the hands of the Church by the hands of the scientific critics. And this simply amounts to saying: ' You are the Catholic Church indeed, and possess these documents and histories of your own past. But either you do not know the meaning of them, because you are not scientific, or you will not declare the real meaning of them, because you are not honest. We are the men ; honesty and science is with us, if it will not die with us. Hand over your documents, the forged and the true ; the forgeries we will find out ; the true we will interpret ; and by science we will prove that you have erred and led the world into error ; and therefore that your claim to be a Divine tradition, and to have a Divine authority, is an imposture. The case of Honorius alone is enough. You say that Pope Leo and Pope Agatho interpreted the Councils of Constantinople so as to

show, that whatever faults of infirmity were in Honorius, a doctrinal heretic he was not. We, by scientific treatment of history, have proved that your contemporaneous Popes were wrong; and we are scientifically right in declaring that Honorius was a heretic, not in a large, but in a strict sense, not only as a private person, but as a pope "ex cathedra:" and therefore that the infallibility of the Pope is a fable.'

But why should the school of scientific history prevail over the immemorial tradition of the Church, even in a matter of fact?

And how can it prevail over the definition of the Vatican Council, except by claiming to be infallible, or denying the infallibility of the Catholic Church?

And here lies the true issue. My purpose has been to bring out this one point, namely, that under this pretext of scientific history lurks an assumption which is purely heretical. It has already destroyed the faith of some; and will that of more. Our duty is to expose it, and to put the faithful on their guard against what I believe to be the last and most subtile form of Protestantism. This school of error has partly sprung up in Germany by contact with Protestantism, and partly in England by the agency of those who, being born in Protestantism, have entered the Catholic Church, but have never been liberated from certain erroneous habits of thought.

The first form of Protestantism was to appeal from the Divine authority of the Church to the text of Scripture: that is, from the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures traditionally declared by the Church, to the

interpretation of private judgment. This is the pure Lutheran or Calvinistic Protestantism.

The next was, to appeal from the Divine authority of the Church to the faith of the undivided Church before the separation of the East and West. Such was the Anglican Protestantism of Jewell and others.

The third was, to appeal from the Divine authority of the Church to the consent of the Fathers, to the canons of Councils, and the like. Such is the more modern form of Anglicanism; of which I wish to speak with all charity, for the sake of so many whom I respect and love.

Thus far, we have to deal with those who are not in communion with the Holy See.

But there has been growing up, both in Germany and in England, a school, if I may so call it, not numerous nor likely to have succession, which places itself in constant antagonism to the authority of the Church, and, to justify its attitude of antagonism, appeals to 'scientific history.' 'The Pope and the Council,' by Janus, and the attacks on Honorius, are its fruits. These were all avowedly written to prevent the definition of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. It was an attempt to bar the advance of the 'magisterium Ecclesiæ' by scientific history.

Now, before the definition of the Vatican Council, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was a doctrine revealed by God, delivered by the universal and constant tradition of the Church, recognised in Œcumenical Councils, pre-supposed in the acts of the Pontiffs in all ages, taught by all the Saints, defended by every religious Order, and by every theological

school except one, and in that one disputed only by a minority in number, and during one period of its history; believed, at least implicitly, by all the faithful, and therefore attested by the passive infallibility of the Church in all ages and lands, with the partial and transient limitations already expressed.

The doctrine was therefore already *objectively* de fide, and also *subjectively* binding in conscience upon all who knew it to be revealed.

The definition has added nothing to its intrinsic certainty, for this is derived from Divine revelation.

It has added only the extrinsic certainty of universal promulgation by the Ecclesia docens, imposing obligation upon all the faithful.

Hitherto, therefore, the authors of Janus, and the like, who appealed to scientific history, appealed indeed from the doctrinal authority of the Church in a matter of revelation; but they may be, so far as God knows their good faith, protected by the plea that the doctrine had not yet been promulgated by a definition.

Nevertheless, the process of their opposition was essentially heretical. It was an appeal from the traditional doctrine of the Catholic Church, delivered by its common and constant teaching, to history interpreted by themselves.

It does not at all diminish the gravity of this act to say that the appeal was not to mere human history, nor to history written by enemies, but to the acts of Councils, and to the documents of Ecclesiastical tradition.

This makes the opposition more formal; for it

amounts to an assumption that scientific history knows the mind of the Church, and is better able to interpret its acts, decrees, condemnations, and documents, either by superiority of scientific criticism, or by superiority of moral honesty, than the Church itself.

But surely the Church best knows its own history, and the true sense of its own acts and documents.

The Crown of England would make short work of those who should scientifically interpret the unwritten law, or the acts of Parliament, contrary to its judgments.

Do modern critics suppose that the case of Honorius is as new to the Church as it is to them, or that the Church has not a traditional knowledge of the value and bearing of the case upon the doctrines of faith?

This, again, in non-Catholics would imply no more than the ordinary want of knowledge as to the Divine nature and office of the Church. In Catholics it would imply, if not heresy, at least a heretical animus.

If the Church has prohibited, under pain of excommunication, any appeal from the Holy See to a future General Council, certainly under the same censure it would condemn an appeal from the Council of the Vatican to the Councils of Constantinople interpreted by scientific history.

It is of faith that the Church alone can declare the contents and the limits of revelation, and can alone determine the extent of its own infallibility. And as it alone can judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture, it alone can judge of the

true sense and interpretation of the acts of its own Pontiffs and Councils.

Under the same head, therefore, and under the same censure, come all appeals from the Divine authority of the Church at this hour, under whatsoever pretext or to whatsoever tribunal; whether to Councils in the future or the past, or to Scripture or the Fathers, or to unauthentic interpretations of the acts of Councils, or to documents of human history.

This being so, it cannot be said that there exist grave difficulties from the words and acts of the Fathers, from the genuine documents of history, and from the Catholic doctrine itself, which if not solved, would render it impossible to propose to the faithful, as a doctrine, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff; because it was contained, before definition, in the universal and constant teaching of the Church as a truth of revelation. Who is the competent judge to declare whether such difficulties really exist? or, if they exist, what is the value of them; whether they be grave or light, relevant or irrelevant? Surely, it belongs to the Church to judge of these things. They are so inseparably in contact with dogma, that the deposit of faith cannot be guarded or expounded without judging of them and pronouncing on them. And it is passing strange if the Church should be incompetent to judge of these things, and the scientific historians alone competent; that is, if the Church should be fallible in dogmatic facts, and the scientific historians infallible. What is this but Lutheranism in history? In those that are without, this is con-

sistent: in Catholics, it would be not only inconsistent but a heresy.

The Council of the Vatican has with great precision condemned this error in these words: 'Catholics can have no just cause of calling into doubt the faith they have received from the teaching authority (magisterium) of the Church, and of suspending their assent, until they shall have completed a scientific demonstration of the truth of their faith.'*

Again, the Council lays down, in respect to sciences properly so called, a principle which *a fortiori* applies to 'historical science,' with signal impropriety so called, by declaring 'that every assertion contrary to the truth of enlightened faith is false . . . Wherefore all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend as legitimate conclusions of science all such opinions as are known to be contrary to the doctrine of faith, especially if they have been condemned by the Church, but are altogether bound to hold them to be errors, which put on the fallacious appearance of truth.' *

I have said that the treatment of history can only be called science with signal impropriety; and for the following reasons:

According to both philosophers and theologians, science is the habit of the mind conversant with necessary truth; that is, truth which admits of demonstration, and of the certainty which excludes the possibility of its contradictory being true.

According to the scholastic philosophy, science is defined as follows:

* Constitutio De Fide Catholica. Appendix, p. 191.

Viewed *subjectively*, it is 'the certain and evident knowledge of the ultimate reasons or principles of truth attained by reasoning.'

Viewed *objectively*, it is 'the system of known truths belonging to the same order as a whole, and depending only upon one principle.'

This is founded on the definitions of Aristotle. In the sixth book of the Ethics, chapter iii. he says: 'From this it is evident what science is: to speak accurately, and not to follow mere similitudes; for we all understand that what we know cannot be otherwise than we know it. For whatsoever may or may not be, as a practical question, is not known to be, or not to be.'

Such also is the definition of St. Thomas. He says: 'Whatsoever truths are truly known as by certain knowledge (*ut certa scientia*) are known by resolution into their first principles, which of themselves are immediately present to the intellect . . . So that it is impossible that the same thing should be the object both of faith and of science, that is, because of the obscurity of the principles of faith.' He nevertheless calls theology a science. But Vasquez shows from Cajetan that this is to be understood not simply but relatively, *non simpliciter, sed secundum quid*. The Thomists generally hold theology to be a science; but *imperfect in its kind*.

Gregory of Valentia sums up the opinions of the Schools, and concludes as follows: 'That theology is not science is taught by Durandus, Ockam, Gabriel, and others, whose opinions I hold to be the truest.' He adds: 'Though it be not a proper science, it is a

habit absolutely more perfect than any science; ' and again : ' Yet, nevertheless, by the best of rights, it may be called a science, because absolutely it is a habit more perfect than any science described by philosophers.'*

Theology then may be called, though *improprie*, a science. First, because it is a science, if not as to its principles, at least as to its form, method, process, development, and transmission. And secondly, because though its *principles are not evident*, they are, in all the higher regions of it, infallibly certain; and because many of them are the necessary, eternal, and incorruptible truths, which according to Aristotle, generate science.

If then theology, which in certainty is next to science properly so called, is to be called science only *improprie*, notwithstanding the infallible certainty and immutable nature of its ultimate principles, how can human history, written by uninspired human authors, transmitted by documents open to corruption, change, and mutilation, without custody or security, except the casual tradition of human testimony and human criticism, open to perversion by infirmity and passion of every kind,—how can such subject-matter yield principles of certainty which excludes contradiction, and ultimate truths immediate to the intellect and evident in themselves?

If by historical science be meant an increased precision in examining evidence and in testing documents, and in comparing narratives together, we will gladly use the word by courtesy; but if more than this be

* Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost, p. 107–112.

meant, if a claim be set up for history, which is not admitted even for theology, then in the name of truth, both Divine and human, let the pretence be exposed. And yet for many years these pretensions have been steadily advancing. Many people have been partly deceived, and partly intimidated by them. The confident and compassionate tone in which certain writers have treated all who differ from them, has won the reward which often follows upon any signal audacity. But when Catholics once understand that this school among us elevates the certainty of history above the certainty of faith, and appeals from the traditional doctrine of the Church to its own historical science, their instincts will recoil from it as irreconcilable with faith.

There is something happily inimitable in the conceit of the words with which Janus opens his preface :

‘The immediate object of this work is to investigate by the *light of history* those questions which we are credibly informed are to be decided at the Œcumenical Council already announced. And as we have endeavoured to fulfil this task by *direct reference to original authorities*, it is not, perhaps, too much to hope that our labours will attract attention in *scientific circles*; and serve as a contribution to ecclesiastical history.’

Janus goes on to say, ‘But this work aims also at something more than the mere *calm* and *aimless* exhibition of historical events: the reader will readily perceive that it has a far wider scope, and deals with ecclesiastical politics; and in one word, that it is a

pleading for very life, an appeal to the *thinkers* among believing Christians,' &c.*

We have here an unconscious confession. 'Janus' is strictly an appeal from the light of faith to the light of history, that is, from the supernatural to the natural order; a process, as I have said again and again, consistent in Protestants and Rationalists: in Catholics, simply heretical.

The direct reference to original authorities is, of course, a prerogative of Janus. Who else but he ever could, or would, or did, refer to the original authorities?

Again, it is a work addressed to *scientific circles*. Lord Bacon describes a school of philosophers who, when they come abroad, lift their hand in the attitude of benediction, 'with the look of those who pity men.' Is science in the Catholic Church confined to 'circles?' Is it an esoteric perfection which belongs to the favoured and to the few who assemble in chambers and secret places? Our Lord has warned us that the science of God has a wider expanse of light. In truth, this science is a modern Gnosticism, superior to the Church, contemptuous of faith, and profoundly egotistical. It appeals to the *thinkers* among believing Christians: that is, to the intellectual few among the herd of mere believers.

But finally the truth escapes: the aim of the book is not merely *calm* and *aimless*. It deals with *ecclesiastical politics*; that is, it was an organised, combined, and deliberate attempt to hinder the Vatican Council

* The Pope and the Council, by Janus. Preface, p. xiii. London, 1869.

in its liberty of action, and in the same breath, before the Council had assembled, to deny its Œcumenicity on the ground that it would not be free.

The book concludes as follows :

‘That is quite enough—it means this, that whatsoever course the Synod may take, one quality can never be predicated of it, namely, that it has been a really free Council. Theologians and canonists declare that without complete freedom, the decisions of the Council are not binding, and the assembly is only a pseudo-synod.’*

This was written in Germany during the summer of last year. The English translation was published by a Protestant bookseller in London in the month of November. I bought the Italian translation in the same month in Florence, on my way to the opening of the Council. French and Spanish bishops told me, on arriving, that they had translations in their own language. And in Spain and Italy copies were sent to the bishops through the channels of those Governments.

We have here the latest example of passionless science.

Of the literary merits of the book, I will only say first, that for its accuracy a fair account has been taken in a pamphlet entitled ‘A few Specimens of Scientific History from Janus;’ and for profoundness that it is simply shallow, compared with Jewell’s ‘Defence of the Apology,’ Barrow ‘On the Pope’s Supremacy,’ Crakenthorp’s ‘Vigilius Dormitans,’ Bramhall’s ‘Schism Guarded,’ Thorndike’s ‘Epilogue,’

* Ibid. p. 425.

Brown's 'Fasciculus Rerum,' &c., to say nothing of the Magdeburg Centuriators, or even Mosheim's or Gieseler's Histories.

The old Protestant and especially the Anglican anticatholic writers are solid, learned, and ponderous, compared with Janus. They have also the force of visible sincerity. Used against the Church from without, their arguments are consistent and weighty; used by professing Catholics within the unity of the Church, they are powerless in controversy, and heretical in their effects and consequences.

I speak thus plainly, Reverend and dear Brethren, because you are charged with the cure of souls; and in this country, where reading, speaking, writing has no rule or limit, those committed to your charge will be in daily temptation. They cannot close their eyes; and if they could, they cannot close their ears. What they may refuse to read they cannot fail to hear. It is the trial permitted for the purity and confirmation of their faith. By your vigilant care they will be what the Catholics of England, in the judgment often expressed to me in other countries, already are—and I would we were so in the degree in which others believe—that is, firm, fearless, intelligent in faith, and not ashamed to confess it before men. Nevertheless the trial is severe for many. And, as I have said before, the Council will be '*in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum.*' Some who think themselves to stand will fall; and some, of whom we perhaps have no hope, will rise to fill their place. Therefore we must be faithful and fearless for the truth.

The book 'Janus' warns us of two duties. The one, to watch against this Gnostic inflation of scientific conceit which is the animus of heresy; the other, to warn all Catholics that to deny the Œcumenicity or the freedom of the Council which the Vicar of Christ has already confirmed in all its acts hitherto complete, or the obligation imposed upon the faithful by those acts, is implicitly to deny the Infallibility of the Church: and that to doubt, or to propagate doubts, of its Œcumenicity and freedom, or of the obligations of its acts, is at least the first step to that denial.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION. TRADITION OF ENGLAND. GREATER UNITY OF FAITH RESULTING FROM THE DEFINITION.

IN an Œcumenical Council, Bishops are witnesses of the Faith of their respective Churches. Not indeed as if they were representatives or delegates of their flocks; a theory strangely advanced by some writers who counted up the population of what they were pleased to call the greater cities, in order to give weight to the testimony of their Bishops as against that of others. In this they simply betrayed the fact that they were resting upon the natural order, and arguing, not on principles of faith, but of the political world.

Bishops are witnesses, primarily and chiefly, not of the subjective faith of their flocks, which may vary or be obscured, but of the objective faith of the Church committed to their trust, when by consecration they became witnesses, doctors, and judges. They were by consecration admitted to the *Ecclesia docens*, and the Divine Tradition of the Faith was entrusted to their custody. But this is one and the same in the humblest Vicar Apostolic, and in the Bishop of the most populous and imperial city in Christendom.

In the course of the discussions, testimony was given to the unbroken tradition of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility in Italy, Spain, Ireland, and many

other countries. It will not therefore be without its use and interest, if I add briefly a few evidences of the unbroken tradition of England as to the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. It would be out of place in this Pastoral to do more than offer to you a few passages; but I would wish to stir up some one, who has time for such research, to collect and publish a complete *catena* of evidence from the writers before and since the Reformation; which will show that the Gallicanism, or worse than Gallicanism, of Cisalpine Clubs and Political Emancipationists was no more than the momentary aberration of a few minds under the stress of penal laws. They are abnormal instances in the noble fidelity of the Catholics of England.

As to the Bishops and Doctors of the English Church before the Reformation, I may first remind you of the words of St. Anselm, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and Bradwardine, three primates of England, given in the Pastoral of last year. To these may be added St. Ælred of Rivaux,* John of Salisbury,† Robert Pullen,‡ Thomas of Evesham,§ Robert Grostete,|| Roger Bacon,¶ Scotus,** Bachon,†† Holcot,‡‡ Richard Ralph,§§ and Waldensis.|||| In these writers the Primacy of the Pontiff, and the obligation, under

* Bibl. Max. Patrum, tom. xxiii. pp. 57, 58. Ed. Lugd. 1677.

† Polycrates, lib. vi. c. 24, p. 61. Ed. Giles.

‡ In Sentent. b. viii. c. iii.

§ In Vita Sti. Egwini, sect. vi.

|| Epp. 72 and 127.

¶ Opus. c. xiv.

** In Sent. iv. dist. vi. 9, 8.

†† Proleg. in Lib. iv. Sentent.

‡‡ In Lib. iv. Sentent.

§§ Summa in quæstionibus Armenorum, lib. vii. c. 5.

|||| Doctrina Fidei, lib. ii. capp. 47, 48.

pain of sin, to obey his judgments and doctrines, is laid down with a perfect unconsciousness that any Catholic could dispute the Divine certainty of his guidance. The Vatican definition has defined the reason of this implicit faith, by declaring that in the primacy there is a *charisma* which preserves the supreme doctrinal authority of the Pontiff from error in faith or morals.

But I leave to others to complete this part of the subject. I will go on to the period of the Reformation.

The controversy against the authority of Rome drew out more explicit statements from Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher.

More, writing against Luther, says, 'Judge, I pray thee, reader, with what sincerity Father Tippler treats this place of Jerome, when he (Jerome) says it is enough for him if the Pope of Rome approve his faith; that is, openly declaring that it cannot be doubted that he is sound in faith who agrees with that See; than which what could he more splendidly say? Yet Father Tippler Luther and others so dissemble about this as to try to cloud the reader also with darkness, and to lead away the minds of men elsewhere, that they may not remember anything.'*

* 'Quæso lector judica quam sincere pater Potator hunc locum Hieronymi tractet: cum ille dicat, satis esse sibi si suam fidem comprobaret papa Romanus: nimirum aperte significans, non dubitandum esse illum recte sentire de fide, qui cum illa sede consentiat: quo quid potuisset dicere magnificentius? istud adeo dissimulat pater Potator Lutherus ut etiam tenebras lectori conetur offundere et animos hominum verbis alio, ne quid recordentur, abducere.'—Morus, *In Lutherum*, lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 87. Louvain, 1566.

Cardinal Fisher also, writing against Luther, says : ‘ One thing I know, that Augustine everywhere makes Peter first and Prince of the Apostles, and Teacher and Head of the rest, in whom also he says the rest are contained, as in the head of any family the multitude (of the family) are all contained.’* And further he adds, ‘ Where else dost thou believe the faith to abide, save in the Church of Christ? “I,” said Christ to Peter, “have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.” The faith of Peter, do not doubt it, will always abide in the succession of Peter, which is the Church.’† This is precisely the Vatican definition, ‘ Romanum Pontificem ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam instructam esse voluit.’

Cardinal Pole, after describing the conduct of Peter in the Council at Jerusalem, goes on to say, ‘ The same also the successors of Peter, following his faith, have done in all other Councils; in which is found much more signally than in Peter’s lifetime, of what kind are the efforts of Satan, who desires to sift the Church of God, and how great is the efficacy of this special remedy in repressing them; namely, that which Christ declared when he turned to Peter, in these

* ‘ Unum scio, quod Augustinus ubique Petrum facit Primum et Principem Apostolorum ac Magistrum et Caput cæterorum, in quo et cæteros contineri dicit, sicut in capite cujusvis familiæ reliqua comprehenditur multitudo.’—Joannis Roffensis *Confutatio Errorum Lutheri*, art. xxv. ad finem, in Rocaberti *Biblioth. Pontif.* tom. xiv. p. 582.

† ‘ Ubi credis alibi manere fidem quam in Ecclesia Christi? Ego, inquit Christus ad Petrum, rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua. Petri fides ne dubita semper in successione Petri manebit, quæ est Ecclesia.’—Id. art. xxvii. ad fin. in Rocaberto, tom. xiv. p. 587.

words, "And thou, being once converted, strengthen thy brethren." For let all remedies be found which at any time the Church has tried against the malice of Satan, who at all times assails it with all kinds of temptations; none certainly will be ever found to be compared with this, which is wont to be used in General Councils; namely, that all the Bishops of all the Churches, as the brethren of Peter, be confirmed by his successors, professors of the same faith.*

In like manner, Harding, Jewel's antagonist, writes: 'The Pope succeedeth Peter in authority and power. For whereas the sheep of Christ continue to the world's end, he is not wise that thinketh Christ to have made a shepherd temporary or for a time over His perpetual flock. To Peter He gave that He obtained by His prayer made to the Father, that his faith should not fail. Again, to him He gave grace thus to perform, the performance whereof at him He required, to wit, that he confirmed and strengthened his brethren, wherefore the grace of stedfastness of faith, and of confirming the wavering and doubtful

* 'Idem etiam Petri successores, fidem ejus secuti, fecere in reliquis omnibus conciliis, in quibus multo illustrius quam vivo Petro compertum est, et cujusmodi esset Satanæ conatus Ecclesiam Dei cribrare expetentis, et quanta ad eos reprimendos extiterit vis hujus singularis remedii, quod Christus ad Petrum sermonem convertens verbis illis indicavit: Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Ut enim omnia remedia quærantur quæ ullo tempore Ecclesia est experta contra Satanæ malitiam nunquam non omnitionis genere eam aggredientis: nullum certe reperietur quod cum hac comparari possit, quod in conciliis generalibus adhiberi est solitum, ut singuli singularum Ecclesiarum episcopi, tanquam Petri fratres, confirmarentur per ejus successores eandem fidem profitentes.'—Card. Polus, *De Summo Pontifice*, cap. iv. (Rocaberti, *Biblioth. Pontif.* tom. xviii. p. 146.)

in faith, every Pope obtaineth of the Holy Ghost for the benefit of the Church. And so the Pope, although he may err by personal error in his own private judgment as a man, and as a particular doctor in his own opinion, yet as he is Pope, the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ in earth, the shepherd of the Universal Church, in public judgment, in deliberation and definitive sentence, he never erreth, nor never erred. For whensoever he ordaineth or determineth anything by his high bishoply authority, intending to bind Christian men to perform or believe the same, he is always governed and holpen with the grace and favour of the Holy Ghost. This is to Catholic doctors a very certainty, though to such doughty clerks as ye are it is but a matter of nothing and a very trifling tale.’*

Campion, answering Whitaker, says, ‘Nor, as you slander us, do we depend on the voice of one man, but rather on the Divine promise of Christ made to Peter and his successors, for the stability of whose faith He prayed to the Father. . . . “I have prayed for thee, Peter,” He said, “that thy faith fail not.” The fruit of which prayer, what follows plainly enough shows, belongs not to Peter alone, but to his successors also. . . . For since the Church was not to become extinct with Peter, but to endure unto the end of the world, the same stability in faith was even more necessary to Peter’s successors, the Roman Pontiffs, in proportion as they were weaker than he,

* Confutation of a Book entitled ‘An Apology of the Church of England,’ by Thomas Harding, D.D., p. 335 *a*. Dedicated to the Queen. Antwerp, 1565.

and were to be assailed with mightier engines by tyrants, heretics, and other impious men. As, therefore, Peter when converted, confirmed the Apostles his brethren, the Pontiffs also must confirm their brethren the rest of the Bishops.' Afterwards, he says, 'Under his guidance they cannot err from the right path of the faith.'*

These evidences are more than enough to show what was the faith of the Church in England in the sixteenth century, that is, in the controversies of the Reformation. They show what was the faith, for which the Catholics of England at that day stood, and suffered.

In the seventeenth century, we may take Nicholas Sanders as our first witness. He writes in his work '*De Clavi David*': 'But we freely declare, and what in words we declare we prove by fact, that the successor of Peter, the Bishop of Rome, in expounding to the Bishops the faith of Christ, has never erred, nor has ever either been the author of any heresy, or has lent his authority to any heretic for the promulgation of heresy.'†

Kellison, President of the College at Douai in 1605, writes as follows: 'For in two senses Peter may be sayd to be the rocke of the Church: first, as he is a particular man, and so if the Church had been

* *Confutatio Responsionis G. Whitakeri*, p. 44. Parisiis 1582.

† 'At vero nos libere dicimus, et quod verbo dicimus re ipsa comprobamus, Petri successorem Episcopum Romanum in exponenda Episcopis fide Christi nunquam errasse, nunquam aut ullius hæresis auctorem fuisse, aut alii hæretico ad promulgandum hæresim suam præbuisse auctoritatem.'—Nicolas Sanderus, *de Clavi David*, lib. v. cap. iv.

built upon him, it must have fallen with him ; secondly, as upon a publique person and supreme Pastor, who is to have successors, to whom constancie in faith is promised, by which they shal uphold the Church : and so the Church dyeth not with Peter, but keepeth her standing upon successors. And because Peter and his successors, by their indeficient faith, in which as supreme pastors they shal never erre, do uphold the Church, therefore the Fathers alleaged sometimes say that the Church is builded on Peter, sometimes on his faith, as it is the faith of the supreme head : which in effect is al one. For if Peter upholdeth the Church by his indeficient faith which he teacheth, then Peter upholdeth the Church, as he hath assured faith, and his faith upholdeth the Church, not howsoever but as it is the faith of Peter, and the supreme head, whose faith especially which he teacheth out of his chaire (that is, not as a particular man only, proposing his opinion ; but as a publique Doctor and chiefe Pastor) defineth and commandeth what al Christians ought to beleieve, shal never faile ; and consequently the Church which relyeth on his definition, though she may be shaken, yet shal never be overthrowne.*

In a work published by S. N., Doctor of Divinity, 1634, we read : ‘ The same is proved by all such texts as convince that the head or chief Bishop of the Church cannot err in defining matters of faith. “ Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired you that he might winnow you as wheat, but I have prayed for

* A Survey of the New Religion, set forth by Matthew Kellison, first book, chap. vi. p. 74. Daway, 1605.

thee that thy faith may not fail." Here Christ prayed not for all the Church, but in particular for Peter, as all the words show: *Simon—for thee—thy faith—thy brethren*: also, whereas our Saviour began to speak in the plural number, "Satan hath desired to have you," &c., forthwith He changeth His manner of speaking and saith, "but I have prayed for thee." Further, He prayeth for him to whom He saith, "and thou sometimes converted," which cannot agree to the whole Church, except we will say the whole Church to have been first perverted, which is many ways untrue. But now that which Christ prayed for is expressly that his faith should not fail, and then seeing this prayer for Peter was for the good of the Church, the Devil still desiring to winnow the faithful, it thereof followeth that she never wanteth one whose faith may not fail, by whom she may be confirmed.*

Southwell, or Bacon, who wrote in 1638, affirms: 'That the Roman Pontiff, out of Council, is infallible in his definitions.' He adds: 'It is clearly proved from what is already said, he who is the foundation-stone of the Church, actually and always infusing into it firmness against the gates of hell and heresies: he who is Pastor not of this or that place, but of the whole fold: and therefore in all things necessary to salvation is bound to feed, govern, and direct, cannot err in judgment of faith. . . But the Supreme Pontiff is such a Rock and Pastor, as has been manifestly proved; therefore he cannot err in judgment of faith.' This he proves, among other evidence, by

* The Triple Cord, p. 72. 1634

the promise of our Lord: 'I have prayed for thee,' &c., and adds, 'What was said to Peter as pastor was said also to the Roman Pontiffs, as has been abundantly proved.' *

Nor was this tradition broken, though the depression which followed the Revolution of 1688 reduced the Catholics to silence. In the eighteenth century, the following testimonies will suffice. More might, no doubt, with ease be found; but for our present purpose no more are needed. First, of Alban Butler, who assuredly represents the English Catholics of his times, we read as follows: 'It is evident from his *Epitome de sex prioribus conciliis œcumenicis in calce tractatus de Incarnatione*, that he had the highest veneration for the Holy See, and for him who sits in the chair of St. Peter; that he constantly held and maintained the rights and singular prerogatives of St. Peter and his successors in calling, presiding over, and confirming, general or œcumenical councils; the Pope's superiority over the whole church and over the whole college of bishops, and over a general council; *the irreformability of his doctrinal decisions in point of faith and morals*; his supreme power to dispense (when there is cause) in the canons of general councils; in short, the plenitude of his authority over the whole Church without exception or limitation. *Nihil excipitur ubi distinguitur nihil.* S. Bernard, l. ii. de Consid. c. 8.' † What gives additional force to this is, that Alban Butler not only held but

* *Regula viva, seu Analysis Fidei*, p. 41. Antwerpiae, 1638.

† *An Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Alban Butler*, p. 16. London, 1799.

taught these doctrines in his theological treatises : and that we receive this testimony from the pen of Charles Butler, who of all men is least to be suspected of ultramontaniam.

In the year 1790, when a certain number of Catholics, weary of penal laws, fascinated by Parliament, and perhaps intimidated by the Protestant ascendancy, began to explain away Catholic doctrines, and to describe themselves by a nomenclature which I will not here repeat, the Rev. Charles Plowden published a work, the very title of which is a witness and an argument. It is called ‘Considerations on the *Modern Opinion* of the *Fallibility* of the Holy See in the Decision of Dogmatical Questions.’ He opens his first chapter with these words : ‘Before the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy in 1682, it was the general persuasion of Roman Catholics that the solemn decisions of the Holy See on matters of dogmatical and moral import are infallible. Since that epoch the contrary opinion is asserted in many schools in France, it has been imported with other French rarities into this kingdom, and it now appears to be the prevailing system, especially among those members of our Catholic clergy and laity who have studied little of either.’ He then most solidly proves what in these Pastorals has been so often asserted, that, with the exception of the modern opinion of the local and transient Gallican School, the universal and traditionary faith of the Church in the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff has never been obscured. Plowden then proceeds to censure the

oath which certain Catholics were at that time proposing to themselves and others. He says:—

‘The clause which regards Papal Infallibility is a demonstration that the oath was not calculated to accommodate the bulk of Roman Catholics, since the very respectable number who believe the solemn and canonical decrees of the Pope on matters of faith to be irreformable can never conscientiously pronounce it. If the interpreters of the oath tell us that the framers of it did not intend to exclude the belief of infallibility in dogmatical decisions, we must answer them that the admission of such a tacit distinction would justly lay us open to swearing to what we do not believe. *No infallibility* and *some infallibility* will always be contradictories. The Catholic public may already know that I think the modern opinion of papal fallibility in decisions of faith to be ill grounded and dangerous, and it appears to me that the doctrine of infallibility in these matters, though not decided, might easily be proved to be that of the Catholic Church and therefore true. It must not then be renounced. The addition of *personal* in the address does not remove the difficulty. For if the Supreme Head of the Church be infallible in his solemn dogmatical decisions, this infallibility attaches to his person. It was promised and given to St. Peter, and it subsists in his lawful successors. It does not belong *in solidum* to the particular Church of Rome as an aggregate of many individuals; it does not belong to the *chair* or *see* of Rome as a thing distinct from the Pope. The distinction between the *sedes* and the *sedens* is a modern subterfuge of the Jan-

senists, unknown to antiquity, which always understood the person of the chief Bishop, whether in words they attribute inerrancy directly to him or metaphorically to his see. If the Pope be then infallible, he is *personally* infallible.*

I will now add only two more witnesses who bore their testimony in the last century, but lived on into the present, Bishop Hay, who died in 1811, and Bishop Milner, who died in 1826.

Bishop Hay, in his 'Sincere Christian,' writes as follows :—

'Q. 27. On what grounds do these divines found their opinion, who believe that the Pope himself, when he speaks to all the faithful as head of the Church, is infallible in what he teaches?

'A. On several very strong reasons, both from scripture, tradition, and reason.'

He then draws out these three fully and abundantly; and this done, he asks:—

'Q. 31. But what proofs do the others bring for their opinion that the head of the Church is not infallible?

'A. They bring not one text of Scripture to prove it,' &c.

Lastly, Bishop Milner in his book called, 'Ecclesiastical Democracy detected,' published in 1793, after saying in the text, 'The controversy of the Pope's inerrancy is here entirely out of the question,' adds the following note: 'It is true I was educated in the belief of this inerrancy; nor have I yet seen

* Observations on the Oath proposed to the English Roman Catholics, by Charles Plowden, p. 43. London, 1790.

sufficient argument to change my opinion. . . . But if the layman, who never fails to ridicule the doctrine in question, is willing fairly to contest it, he knows where to meet with an antagonist ready to engage with him. Against one assertion however of this writer, which insinuates the political danger resulting from the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, I will hurl defiance at him; nothing being more easy to show, than that no greater danger can result to the State from admitting the inerrancy of the Pope than from admitting that of the Church itself.*

I only hope we shall now hear no more that the Catholics of England have not believed, or have not been taught, this doctrine; nor that the 'Old Catholics' of England refuse to believe the new opinions, and the like. We have heard too much of this: and the honoured name of those who through three hundred years of persecution have kept the faith, has been too much dishonoured by imputing to them that they are not faithful to the Martyrs, Confessors, and Doctors of England. The faith of St. Anselm and St. Thomas, of Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher, of Hay and Milner, is the faith of the Catholics of England. Whoso departs from it forfeits his share in the inheritance of fidelity they have handed down.

I will now add a few words on the disastrous consequences predicted from the Definition.

We were told that the Definition of the Infallibility would alienate the fairest provinces of the Catholic Church, divide the Church into parties, drive the

* Ecclesiastical Democracy detected, p. 98. London, 1793.

scientific and independent into separation, and set the reason of mankind against the superstitions of Rome. We were told of learned professors, theological faculties, entire universities, multitudes of laity, hundreds of clergy, the flower of the episcopate, who were prepared to protest as a body, and to secede. There was to be a secession in France, in Germany, in Austria, in Hungary. The 'Old Catholics' of England would never hear of this new dogma, and with difficulty could be made to hold their peace. Day by day, these illusions have been sharply dispelled; but not a word of acknowledgment is to be heard. A professor is suspended *a divinis* in Germany; a score or two of lay professors, led by a handful whose names are already notorious, and a hundred or so of laymen who, before the Council met, began to protest against its acts, convoke a congress, which ends in a gathering of some twenty persons. These, with the alleged opposition of one Bishop, whose name out of respect I do not write, as the allegation has never yet been confirmed by his own word or act, these are hitherto the adverse consequences of the Definition.

On the other hand, the Bishops who, because they opposed the Definition as inopportune, were calumniously paraded as opposed to the doctrine of Infallibility, at once began to publish their submission to the acts of the Council. The greater part of the French Bishops who were once in opposition, have explicitly declared their adhesion. The German Bishops, meeting again at Fulda, issued a Pastoral Letter, so valuable in itself, that I have reprinted it in the Appendix.* It

* See Appendix, p. 225.

was signed by seventeen, including all the chief Bishops of Germany. The others, if silent, cannot be doubted. The leading Bishops of Austria and Hungary, who may be taken as representing the Episcopates of these countries, have in like manner declared themselves. The Clergy and the faithful of these kingdoms, with the rarest exceptions of an individual here and there, are, as they have always been, of one mind in accepting the definition with joy. Ireland has spoken for itself, not only in many dioceses, and by its Bishops, but by the Triduum, or Thanksgiving of three days, held in Dublin with great solemnity and with a concourse, as I am informed by direct correspondence, such as was never seen before. Of England I need say little. The Clergy of this diocese have twice spoken for themselves; and the Clergy of England and Scotland have given unequivocal witness to their faith. As we hear so much and so often of those among us who are called 'the old Catholics,' that is, the sons of our martyrs and confessors; and as their name is so lightly and officiously taken in vain by those who desire to find or to make divisions among us, you will not need, but will nevertheless be glad, to know, that both by word and by letter I have received from the chief and foremost among them, express assurance that what the Council has defined they have always believed. It is but their old faith in an explicit formula. Among the disappointments to which our adversaries, I regret so to call them, but truth must be spoken, have doomed themselves, none is greater than this. They have laboured to believe and to make others believe that the Catholic Church is

internally divided; that the Council has revealed this division; and that it is nowhere more patent than in England. It is, I know, useless to contradict this illusion. It is not founded in reason, and cannot by reason be corrected. Prejudice and passion are deaf and blind. Time and facts will dispel illusions, and expose falsehoods. And to this slow but inexorable cure we must leave them. It is no evidence of division among us, if here and there a few individuals should fall away. I said before, the Council will be *in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum*. It is a time of spiritual danger to many; especially to those who live perpetually among adversaries, hearing diatribes all day long against the Church, the Council, and the Holy Father, reading anti-Catholic accounts and comments upon Catholic doctrines, and upon the words and acts of Catholic Bishops, and always breathing, till they are unconscious of it, an anti-Catholic atmosphere.

St. Paul has foretold that 'In the last days shall come dangerous times,'* and 'in the last times some shall depart from the faith.'† Those days seem now to be upon us; and individuals perhaps may fall. But the fall of leaves and sprays and boughs does not divide the Tree. You will know how to deal with them in charity, patience, and firmness, before you act on the Apostolic precept, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid.'‡ You will use all the patience of charity, but you will use also, if need be so, its

* 2 Tim. iii. 1.

† 1 Tim. iv. 1.

‡ Tit. iii. 10.

just severity. In these days, laxity is mistaken for charity, and indifference to truth for love of souls. This is not the spirit of the Apostle, who in the excess of charity declared that he could desire 'to be anathema from Christ' for his brethren according to the flesh, and yet for the love of souls could say, 'I would they were even cut off, who trouble you;'* because the purity of the faith is vital to the salvation of souls, and the salvation of the flock must be preferred to the salvation of a few.

I will touch but one other topic, and then make an end. The same prophets who foretold disastrous consequences from the definition, are now foretelling the downfall of the Temporal Power. Day by day, we hear and read contemptuous censures of the obstinacy of Pius the Ninth, who has ruined himself by his *Non possumus*, and sealed his downfall by the definition of his own infallibility. I do not hesitate to say, that if what is now happening had been caused by the definition, which is not the fact, yet any external trials would be better than an internal conflict arising from a contradiction of revealed truth. Gold may be bought too dear: but truth cannot.

Perhaps we ought not to wonder that the Protestant and anti-Catholic world should persist in declaring that Rome, by the definition of the Infallibility, has altered its relations to the world; or, as I have lately read, 'disgusted all the civil governments of Europe.' They do not know, or are willingly ignorant, that the doctrine of the Infallibility was as much the doctrine of the Church before as after the definition. The

* Gal. v. 12.

definition only declares it to be revealed by God. The relations of Rome to the Civil Powers are therefore precisely what they were before. If the Civil Powers are disgusted, it is only because the Œcumenical Council declined to swerve from its duty in compliance to their dictation ; or because they can no longer affect to disbelieve that the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is the true and traditional doctrine of the Catholic Church. We are called superstitious, because we do not believe in the downfall of the Temporal Power ; and obstinate, because we will not recognise the right of Italy to invade the Patrimony of the Church. Our superstition consists in this. In the history of the Church the Temporal Power has been suppressed, as the phrase is, over and over again. The first Napoleon suppressed it twice. The Triumvirate suppressed it in 1848. There is nothing new under the sun. The thing that has been, is the thing that shall be. We do not believe in the perpetuity of anything but the Church ; nor in the finality of anything but justice. Sacrilege carries the seeds of its own dissolution. A robbery so unjust cannot endure. When or how it shall be chastised we know not : but the day of reckoning is not less sure for that. Of one thing there can be no doubt ; the nations which have conspired to dethrone the Vicar of Christ will, for that sin, be scourged. They will, moreover, scourge one another and themselves. The people that has the chief share in the sin, will have the heaviest share in the punishment. We are therefore in no way moved. If it be God's will that His Church should suffer persecution, it will be thereby

purified; but the persecutors will fall one by one. Rome has seen the map of Europe made over and over again; but Rome remains changeless. It will see out the present dynasties of conquered and conqueror: suffering, it may be, but indefectible.

I have already said, that the definition was made on the eighteenth of July, and war on the nineteenth. Since that date, a crowd of events have hurried to their fulfilment. The French Empire has passed away. Rome is occupied by the armies of Italy. The peace of Europe is broken: never again, it may be, to be restored, till the scourges of war have gone their circuit among the nations. A period of storm has set in, and the rising waters of a flood may be seen approaching. If a time of trial for the Church is at hand, a time of ruin and desolation to all countries in Europe will come with it. The Church may suffer, but cannot die; the dynasties and civil societies of Europe may not only suffer but be swept away. The Head of the Church, be he where he may, in Rome or in exile, free or in bondage, will be all that the Council of the Vatican has defined, supreme in jurisdiction, infallible in faith. Go where he may, the faithful throughout the world will see in him the likeness of His Divine Master, both in authority and in doctrine. The Council has thus made provision for the Church in its time of trial, when, it may be, not only Œcumenical Councils cannot be held, but even the ordinary administration of ecclesiastical government and consultation may be hardly possible.

Peter's bark is ready for the storm. All that is

needful is already on board. Past ages were wild and perilous, but the future bids fair to exceed them in violence, as a hurricane exceeds an ordinary storm. The times of the Council of Trent were tempestuous: but for these three hundred years the licence and the violence of free thought, free speech, and a free press which spares nothing human or divine, have been accumulating in volume and intensity. All this burst upon the Council of the Vatican. And in the midst of this, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, abandoned by all powers of the once Christian world, stands alone, weak but invincible, the supreme judge and infallible teacher of men. The Church has therefore its provision for faith and truth, unity and order. The floods may come, the rain descend, and the winds blow and beat upon it, but it cannot fall, because it is founded upon Peter. But what security has the Christian world? Without helm, chart, or light, it has launched itself into the falls of revolution. There is not a monarchy that is not threatened. In Spain and France, monarchy is already overthrown. The hated Syllabus will have its justification. The Syllabus which condemned Atheism and revolution would have saved society. But men would not. They are dissolving the temporal power of the Vicar of Christ. And why do they dissolve it? 'Because governments are no longer Christian. The temporal power had no sphere, and therefore no manifestation, before the world was Christian. What matter will it have for its temporal power, when the world has ceased to be Christian? For what is the temporal power, but the condition of peaceful

independence and supreme direction over all Christians, and all Christian societies, inherent in the office of Vicar of Christ, and head of the Christian Church? When the Civil powers became Christian, faith and obedience restrained them from casting so much as a shadow of human sovereignty over the Vicar of the Son of God. They who attempt it now will do it at their peril.

The Church of God cannot be bound, and its liberty is in its head. The liberty of conscience and of faith, since the Church entered into peace, have been secured in his independence.

For a thousand years his independence, which is sovereignty, has been secured by the providence of God in the temporal power over Rome: the narrow sphere of his exemption from all civil subjection. But men are nowadays wiser than God, and would unmake and mend His works. They are therefore dissolving the temporal power as He has fashioned it; and in so doing, they are striking out the keystone of the arch which hangs over their own heads. This done, the natural society of the world will still subsist, but the Christian world will be no more. One thing is certain; let all the Civil powers of this world in turn, or all together, claim the Vicar of Jesus Christ as their subject, a subject he will never be. The *Non possumus* is not only immutable, but invincible. The infallible head of an infallible Church cannot depend on the sovereignty of man. The Council of the Vatican has brought out this truth with the evidence of light. The world may despise and fight against it, but the Church of God will believe and act upon this law of divine faith.

The peoples of the world will hear him gladly; but the rulers see in him a superior, and will not brook it. They cannot subdue him, and they will not be subject to his voice. They are therefore in perpetual conflict with him. But who ever fought against him, and has prospered? Kings have carried him captive, and princes have betrayed him; but, one by one, they have passed away, and he still abides. Their end has been so tragically explicit that all men may read its meaning. And yet kings and princes will not learn, nor be wise. They rush against the rock, and perish. The world sees their ruin, but will not see the reason. The faithful read in the ruin of all who lay hands on the Vicar of Christ the warning of the Psalmist, 'Nolite tangere Christos meos;' and of our Lord Himself, 'Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.' *

I remain, reverend and dear Brethren,
Your affectionate Servant in Christ,

✠ HENRY EDWARD,

Archbishop of Westminster.

Feast of S. Edward the Confessor.

* St. Matth. xxi. 44.

APPENDIX.

I.

POSTULATUM OF THE BISHOPS FOR THE DEFINITION OF THE INFALLIBILITY.

SACRO CONCILIO OECUMENICO VATICANO.

A Sacra Oecumenica Synodo Vaticana infrascripti Patres humillime instanterque flagitant, ut apertis, omnemque dubitandi locum excludentibus verbis sancire velit supremam, ideoque ab errore immunem esse Romani Pontificis auctoritatem, quum in rebus fidei et morum ea statuit ac praecipit, quae ab omnibus christifidelibus credenda et tenenda, quaeve reiicienda et damanda sint.

RATIONES OB QUAS HAEC PROPOSITIO OPPORTUNA ET NECESSARIA CENSETUR.

Romani Pontificis, beati Petri Apostoli successoris, in universam Christi Ecclesiam iurisdictionis, adeoque etiam supremi magisterii primatus in sacris Scripturis aperte docetur.

Universalis et constans Ecclesiae traditio tum factis tum sanctorum Patrum effatis, tum plurimorum Conciliorum, etiam oecumenicorum, et agendi et loquendi ratione docet, Romani Pontificis iudicia de fidei morumque doctrina irreformabilia esse.

Consentientibus Graecis et Latinis, in Concilio II Lugdunensi admissa professio fidei est, in qua declaratur: 'Subortas de fide controversias debere Romani Pontificis iudicio definiri.' In Florentina itidem oecumenica Synodo definitum est: 'Romanum Pontificem esse verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput, et omnium christianorum patrem et doctorem; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Eccle-

siam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.' Ipsa quoque sana ratio docet, neminem stare posse in fidei communione cum Ecclesia catholica, qui eius capiti non consentiat, quum ne cogitatione quidem Ecclesiam a suo capite separare liceat.

Attamen fuerunt atque adhucdum sunt, qui, catholicorum nomine gloriantes, eoque etiam ad infirmorum in fide perniciem abutentes, docere praesumant, eam sufficere submissionem erga Romani Pontificis auctoritatem, qua eius de fide moribusque decreta obsequioso, ut aiunt, silentio, sine interno mentis assensu, vel provisorie tantum, usquedum de Ecclesiae assensu vel dissensu constiterit, suscipiantur.

Hacce porro perversa doctrina Romani Pontificis auctoritatem subverti, fidei unitatem dissipari, erroribus campum amplissimum aperiri, tempusque late serpendi tribui, nemo non videt.

Quare Episcopi, catholicae veritatis custodes et vindices, his potissimum temporibus connisi sunt, ut supremam Apostolicae Sedis docendi auctoritatem synodalibus praesertim decretis et communibus testimoniis tuerentur.*

* 1. Concilium provinciale *Coloniense*, anno 1860 celebratum, cui, praeter eminentissimum Cardinalem et Archiepiscopum Coloniensem, Ioannem de Geissel, quinque subscripserunt Episcopi, diserte docet: 'Ipse (Romanus Pontifex) est omnium Christianorum pater et doctor, cuius in fidei quaestionibus per se irreformabile est iudicium.'

2. Episcopi in Concilio provinciali *Ultraiectensi* anno 1865 congregati aperissime edicunt: '(Romani Pontificis) iudicium in iis, quae ad fidem moresque spectant, *infallibile* esse, indubitanter retinemus.'

3. Concilium provinciale *Colocense*, anno 1860 celebratum, haec statuit: 'Quemadmodum Petrus erat . . . doctrinae fidei magister irrefragabilis, pro quo ipse Dominus rogavit, ut non deficeret fides eius . . . ; pari modo legitimi eius in cathedrae Romanae culmine successores . . . depositum fidei summo et irrefragabili oraculo custodiunt . . . Unde propositiones cleri gallicani anno 1682 editas, quas iam pia memoriae Georgius Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis una cum ceteris Hungariae Praesulibus eodem adhuc anno publice proscripsit, itidem reiicimus, proscribimus, atque cunctis Provinciae huius fidelibus interdicimus, ne eas legere vel tenere, multo minus docere audent.'

4. Concilium plenum *Baltimorese*, anno 1866 coactum, in decretis, quibus 44 Archiepiscopi et Episcopi subscripserunt, inter alia haec docet: 'Viva et infallibilis auctoritas in ea tantum viget Ecclesia, quae a Christo Domino supra Petrum, totius Ecclesiae caput, principem et pastorem, cuius fidem nunquam defecturam promisit, aedificata, suos legitimos semper habet Pontifices, sine intermissione ab ipso Petro ducentes originem, in eius cathedra collocatos, et eiusdem etiam doctrinae, dignitatis, honoris et potestatis haeredes et vindices. Et quoniam ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia, ac Petrus per Romanum Pontificem loquitur et semper in suis successoribus vivit et iudicium exercet, ac praestat quaerentibus fidei veritatem; *idcirco divina eloquia eo plane sensu*

Quo evidentius vero catholica veritas praedicabatur, eo vehementius, tam libellis quam ephemeridibus, nuperrime impugnata est, ut catholicus populus contra sanam doctrinam commoveretur, ipsaque Vaticana Synodus ab ea proclamanda abstereretur.

Quare, si antea de opportunitate istius doctrinae in hoc Oecumenico Concilio pronuntiandae a pluribus dubitari adhuc potuit, nunc eam definire necessarium prorsus videtur. Catholica enim doctrina iisdem plane argumentis denuo impetitur, quibus olim homines, proprio iudicio condemnati, adversus eam utebantur; quibus, si urgeantur, ipse Romani Pontificis primatus, Ecclesiaeque infallibilitas pessumdatur; et quibus saepe deterrima convicia contra Apostolicam Sedem admiscuntur. Immo acerbissimi catholicae doctrinae impugnatores, licet catholicos se dicant, blaterare non erubescunt, Florentinam Synodum, supremam Romani Pontificis auctoritatem luculentissime profitentem, oecumenicam non fuisse.

Si igitur Concilium Vaticanum, adeo provocatum, taceret et catholicae doctrinae testimonium dare negligeret, tunc catholicus

sunt accipienda, quae tenuit ac tenet haec Romana beatissimi Petri cathedra, quae omnium Ecclesiarum mater et magistra, fidem a Christo Domino traditam integram inviolatamque semper servavit, eamque fideles edocuit, omnibus ostendens salutis semitam et incorruptae veritatis doctrinam.

5. Concilium primum provinciale Westmonasteriense, anno 1852 habitum, profitetur: 'Cum Dominus noster adhortetur dicens: Attendite ad petram, unde excisi estis; attendite ad Abraham, patrem vestrum: aequum est, nos, qui immediate ab Apostolica Sede fidem, sacerdotium, veramque religionem accepimus, eidem plus ceteris amoris et observantiae vinculis adstringi. *Fundamentum igitur verae et orthodoxae fidei ponimus, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus ponere voluit inconcussum, scilicet Petri cathedram, totius orbis magistram et matrem, S. Romanam Ecclesiam. Quidquid ab ipsa semel definitum est, eo ipso ratum et certum tenemus*; ipsius traditiones, ritus, pios usus et omnes apostolicas constitutiones, disciplinam respicientes, toto corde amplectimur et veneramur. Summo denique Pontifici obedientiam et reverentiam, ut Christi Vicario, ex animo profiteamur, eique arctissime in catholica communione adhaeremus.'

6. Quingenti prope Episcopi, ex toto terrarum orbe ad agenda *solemnia saecularia* Martyrii Sanctorum Petri et Pauli anno 1867 in hac alma Urbe congregati, minime dubitarunt, Supremum Pontificem Pium IX hisce alloqui verbis: 'Petrum per os Pii locutum fuisse credentes, quae ad custodiendum depositum a Te dicta, confirmata, prolata sunt, nos quoque dieimus, confirmamus, annunciamus, unoque ore atque animo reiicimus omnia, quae divinae fidei, salutis animarum, ipsi societatis humanae bono adversae, Tu ipse reprobanda ac reiicienda iudicasti. Firmum enim menti nostrae est, alteque defixum, quod Patres Florentini in decreto unionis definierunt: Romanum Pontificem Christi Vicarium, totius Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum Patrem et Doctorem existere.'

populus de vera doctrina reapse dubitare inciperet, neoterici autem gloriantes assererent, Concilium ob argumenta ab ipsis allata siluisse. Quinimmo silentio hoc semper abuterentur, ut Apostolicae Sedis iudiciis et decretis circa fidem et mores palam obedientiam negarent, sub praetextu quod Romanus Pontifex in eiusmodi iudiciis falli potuerit.

Publicum itaque rei christianae bonum postulare videtur, ut Sacrosanctum Concilium Vaticanum, Florentinum decretum de Romano Pontifice demuo profitens et uberius explicans, apertis, omnemque dubitandi locum praecludentibus verbis sancire velit supremam, ideoque ab errore immunem esse eiusdem Romani Pontificis auctoritatem, quum in rebus fidei et morum ea statuit ac praecipit, quae ab omnibus christifidelibus credenda et tenenda, quaeve reiicienda et damnanda sint.

Non desunt quidem qui existiment, a catholica hac veritate sancienda abstinendum esse, ne schismatici atque haeretici longius ab Ecclesia arceantur. Sed in primis catholicus populus ius habet, ut ab Oecumenica Synodo doceatur, quid in re tam gravi, et tam improbe nuper impugnata, credendum sit, ne simplices et incautos multorum animos perniciosus error tandem corrumpat. Idcirco etiam Lugdunenses et Tridentini Patres rectam doctrinam stabiliendam esse censuerunt, etsi schismatici et haeretici offenderentur. Qui si sincera mente veritatem quaerant, non absterrebuntur sed allicientur, dum ipsis ostenditur, quo potissimum fundamento catholicae Ecclesiae unitas et firmitas nitatur. Si qui autem, vera doctrina ab Oecumenico Concilio definita, ab Ecclesia deficerent, hi numero pauci et iamdudum in fide naufragi sunt, praetextum solummodo quaerentes, quo externa etiam actione ab Ecclesia se eximant, quam interno sensu iam deseruisse palam ostendunt. Hi sunt, qui catholicum populum continuo turbare non abhorruerunt, et a quorum insidiis Vaticana Synodus fideles Ecclesiae filios tueri debebit. Catholicus enimvero populus, semper edoctus et assuetus, Apostolicis Romani Pontificis decretis plenissimum mentis et oris obsequium exhibere, Vaticani Concilii sententiam de eiusdem suprema et ab errore immuni auctoritate laeto fidelique animo excipiet.

TRANSLATION OF THE POSTULATUM FOR
THE DEFINITION.

TO THE HOLY ŒCUMENICAL VATICAN COUNCIL.

The undersigned Fathers humbly and earnestly beg the holy Œcumenical Council of the Vatican to define clearly, and in words that cannot be mistaken, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff is supreme, and, therefore, exempt from error, when in matters of faith and morals he declares and defines what is to be believed and held, and what to be rejected and condemned, by all the faithful.

REASONS FOR WHICH THIS DEFINITION IS THOUGHT OPPORTUNE
AND NECESSARY.

The Sacred Scriptures plainly teach the Primacy of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, the Successor of St. Peter, over the whole Church of Christ, and, therefore, also his Primacy of supreme teaching authority.

The universal and constant tradition of the Church, as seen both in facts and in the teaching of the Fathers, as well as in the manner of acting and speaking adopted by many Councils, some of which were Œcumenical, teaches us that the judgments of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith and morals are irreformable.

In the Second Council of Lyons, with the consent of both Greeks and Latins, a profession of faith was agreed upon, which declares: 'When controversies in matters of faith arise, they must be settled by the decision of the Roman Pontiff.' Moreover, in the Œcumenical Synod of Florence, it was defined that 'the Roman Pontiff is Christ's true Vicar, the Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in blessed Peter, was given by Jesus Christ the plenitude of power to rule and govern the universal Church.' Sound reason, too, teaches us that no one can remain in communion of faith with the Catholic Church who is not of one mind with its head, since the Church cannot be separated from its head even in thought.

Yet some have been found, and are even now to be found, who, boasting of the name of Catholic, and using that name to the ruin of those weak in faith, are bold enough to teach, that sufficient submission is yielded to the authority of the Roman

Pontiff, if we receive his decrees in matters of faith and morals with an obsequious silence, as it is termed, without yielding internal assent, or, at most, with a provisional assent, until the approval or disapproval of the Church has been made known. Anyone can see that by this perverse doctrine the authority of the Roman Pontiff is overturned, all unity of faith dissolved, a wide field opened to errors, and leisure afforded for spreading them far and wide.

Wherefore the Bishops, the guardians and protectors of Catholic truth, have endeavoured, especially now-a-days, to defend in their Synodal decrees, and by their united testimony, the supreme authority of the Apostolic See.*

But the more clearly Catholic truth has been declared, the more vehemently has it been attacked both in books and in newspapers, for the purpose of exciting Catholics against sound doctrine, and preventing the Council of the Vatican from defining it.

Though, then, in times past many might have doubted the opportuneness of declaring this doctrine in the present Ecumenical Council, it would seem now to be absolutely necessary to define it. For Catholic doctrine is now once more assailed by those same arguments which men, condemned by their own conscience, used against it in old times; arguments which, if carried to their ultimate consequences, would bring to the ground the very Primacy of the Roman Pontiff and the infallibility of the Church itself: and to which, also, is frequently added, the most violent abuse of the Apostolic See. Nay, more; the most bitter assailants of Catholic doctrine, though calling themselves Catholics, are not ashamed to assert that the Synod of Florence, which so clearly declares the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff, was not Ecumenical.

If then the Council of the Vatican, being thus challenged, were to be silent, and omit to give testimony to the Catholic doctrine on this point, then Catholics would, in fact, begin to doubt the true doctrine, and the novelty-mongers would triumphantly assert that the Council had been silenced by the arguments brought forward by them. They would, moreover, abuse this silence on every occasion, and openly deny the obedience due to the judgments and decrees of the Apostolic See in matters of faith and morals, under pretext that the judgment of the Roman Pontiff is fallible on such points.

* Many specimens of this testimony are collected in the following Appendix to the Postulatum.

Wherefore the public good of Christianity seems to require, that the holy Council of the Vatican, professing once again, and explaining more fully, the Florentine decree, should define clearly and in words that can admit of no doubt, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff is supreme, and, therefore, exempt from error, when in matters of faith and morals he decrees and ordains what is to be believed and held by all the faithful of Christ, and what to be rejected and condemned by them.

There are, indeed, some who think that this Catholic truth should not be defined, lest schismatics and heretics should be repelled yet further from the Church. But, above all other considerations, Catholics have a right to be taught by the Œcumenical Council what they are to believe in so weighty a matter, and one which has been of late so iniquitously attacked; lest this pernicious error should in the end infect simple minds, and the masses of people unawares. Hence it was that the Fathers of Lyons and of Trent deemed themselves bound to establish the doctrine of the truth, notwithstanding the offence that might be taken by schismatics and heretics. For if these seek the truth in sincerity, they will not be repelled, but, on the contrary, drawn towards us, when they see on what foundations the unity and strength of the Catholic Church chiefly repose. But should any leave the Church in consequence of the true doctrine being defined by the Œcumenical Council, these will be few in number, and such as have already suffered shipwreck in the faith; such as are only seeking a pretext to abandon that Church by an overt act, which they plainly show they have deserted already in heart. These are they who have never shrunk from disturbing our Catholic people; and from the snares of such men the Council of the Vatican ought to protect the faithful children of the Church. For all true Catholics, taught and accustomed to render the fullest obedience both of thought and word to the Apostolic decrees of the Roman Pontiff, will receive with joyful and devoted hearts the definition of the Council of the Vatican concerning his supreme and infallible authority.

APPENDIX.

DECISIONS OF PROVINCIAL SYNODS RECENTLY HELD, SHOWING THE COMMON OPINION OF BISHOPS CONCERNING THE SUPREME AND INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND MORALS.

1. The Provincial Council held at Cologne in 1860, to which, in addition to his Eminence Cardinal Geissel, Archbishop of

Cologne, five Bishops subscribed, expressly declares: 'He (the Roman Pontiff) is the father and teacher of all Christians, *whose judgment in questions of faith is "per se" unalterable.*'

2. The Bishops assembled in the Provincial Council, held at Utrecht in 1865, most openly assert: 'We unhesitatingly hold that the judgment of the Roman Pontiff in matters which refer to faith and morals is *infallible.*'

3. The Provincial Council of Prague* in 1860, to which his Eminence Cardinal Archbishop Frederic de Schwarzenberg and four other Bishops subscribed, under the heading, 'On the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff,' decreed as follows: 'We reject, moreover, the error of those who pretend that the Church can exist anywhere without being joined in bonds of union with the Church of Rome, in which the tradition which has been handed down by the Apostles, has been preserved by those who are in every part.' (S. Irenæus *Adv. Hæc.* l. 3, c. 3, n. 2.)

'We know that no one who is not joined to the Head, can be considered as a member of the Body of the Church which Christ founded on Peter and established on his authority. Let all then prefer to confess with us and with the multitude of orthodox believers spread over the whole world, the Headship of the Roman Church and the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff; let them, as is fitting, with us, reverence and honour with dutiful affection our Most Holy Father Pius IX., by God's Providence Pope, the lawful Successor of the Prince of the Apostles, the Vicar of Christ on earth, the Chief Teacher of Faith, and Pilot of the Ship of Christ, to whom *the most exact obedience and internal assent is due from all who wish to belong to the fold of Christ.* We declare and teach, That this authority of the Roman Pontiff comes from Christ our Lord, and that consequently it is dependent upon no power or favour of men, and remains unimpaired in all times, even in the most bitter persecutions which the Church of Rome has suffered, as was the case during the imprisonment and martyrdom of blessed Peter.'

4. The Provincial Council of Kalocza, held in 1860, declared: 'That as Peter was . . . the irrefutable teacher of the doctrines of faith, for whom the Lord Himself prayed that his faith might not fail; so his legitimate successors seated aloft on the Chair of Rome . . . preserve the deposit of faith with supreme and irrefutable powers of declaring the truth. . . . Wherefore we also reject, proscribe, and forbid all the faithful of this Province,

* This Council was not included in the original draught from which the Latin is taken.

to read or maintain, and much more to teach, the propositions published by the Gallican Clergy in 1682, which have already been censured this same year by the Archbishop of Gran, of pious memory, and by the other Bishops of Hungary.'

5. The Plenary Council of Baltimore, which met in 1866 and to which 44 Archbishops and Bishops subscribed, says: 'The living and infallible authority flourishes in that Church alone which was built by Christ upon Peter, who is the Head, Leader, and Pastor of the whole Church, whose faith Christ promised should never fail; which ever had legitimate Pontiffs, dating their origin in unbroken line from Peter himself, being seated in his Chair, and being the inheritors and defenders of the like doctrine, dignity, office, and power. And because, where Peter is, there also is the Church, and because Peter speaks in the person of the Roman Pontiff, ever lives in his successors, passes judgment and makes known the truths of faith to those who seek them; *therefore are the Divine declarations to be received in that sense in which they have been and are held by this Roman See of blessed Peter, that mother and teacher of all Churches, which has ever preserved whole and entire the teaching delivered by Christ, and which has taught it to the faithful, showing to all men the paths of salvation and the doctrine of everlasting truth.*'

6. The first Provincial Council of Westminster, held in 1852, states: 'When our Blessed Lord exhorts us, saying, Look to the rock whence you are hewn; look to Abraham your father, it is fitting that we who have received our faith, our priesthood, and the true religion, directly from the Apostolic See, should more than others be attached to it by the bonds of love and fidelity. *Therefore do we maintain that foundation of truth and orthodoxy which Jesus Christ willed should be maintained unshaken; namely, the See of Peter, the teacher and mother of the whole world, the Holy Roman Church. Whatever is once defined by it, for that very reason alone we consider to be fixed and certain; when we look at its traditions, rites, pious customs, discipline, and all its Apostolic Constitutions, we follow and cherish them with all the affection of our hearts. In fine, we of set purpose publicly declare our obedience and respect for the Pope as Christ's Vicar, and we remain united to him in the closest bonds of Catholic unity.*'

7. Nearly five hundred of the Bishops assembled in Rome to celebrate the Centenary of the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, in the year 1867, had no hesitation in addressing Pius IX. in the following terms: 'Believing that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius, whatever has been said, confirmed, and decreed by You

to preserve the deposit of faith, we also repeat, confirm, and profess, and with one mind and heart we reject all that You have judged it necessary to reprove and condemn as contrary to Divine faith, to the salvation of souls, and to the good of society. For what the Fathers of Florence defined in their Decree of Union, is firmly and deeply impressed in our minds; that the Roman Pontiff is the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the whole Church, the Father and Teacher of all Christians.'

II.

LETTER OF H. E. CARDINAL ANTONELLI TO
THE NUNCIO AT PARIS.

Rome, March 19, 1870.

MY LORD,—The Marquis de Banneville, ambassador of his Majesty, read me, a few days ago, a despatch forwarded to him under date February 20 last, from Count Daru, Minister of Foreign Affairs, relative to the affairs of the Council. In this communication, of which the ambassador was kind enough to leave me a copy, the aforesaid minister, referring to the resolution come to by the French Government not to take part in the deliberations of the General Council, desiring at the same time its liberty to be guaranteed fully and absolutely, states that such resolution was based on the supposition that that venerable assembly would occupy itself solely about the sacred interests of the Faith, and would abstain from touching questions of a purely political order. But the publication (he says) by the ‘Augsburg Gazette’ of the canons appertaining to the draft of constitution on the Church and on the Roman Pontiff, showing that there is question of deciding whether the power of the Church and of her Head extends to the whole aggregate of political rights; the Government, keeping firmly to the resolution of leaving, upon this point also, entire liberty to the deliberations of the august assembly, intends to exercise the right given it by the Concordat of making known to the Council its opinion on questions of such nature.

Passing to the examination of the said canons, the minister sums up their contents (on which he wishes to comment) in the two following propositions:—First, ‘the Infallibility of the Church extends not only to the Deposit of Faith, but to all that is necessary for the preservation of such Deposit’; and secondly, ‘the Church is a society divine and perfect; its power is exercised at once *in foro interno et externo*; is absolute in the legislative, judicial, and coercive order, and is to be exercised by her with full liberty and independence from any civil power whatever.’ Hence, as corollaries of these two propositions, he deduces

the extension of infallibility to all that is thought necessary for the defence of revealed truths, and consequently to facts, whether historical, philosophical, or scientific, external to revelation: as also the absolute subordination to the supreme authority of the Church of the constituent principles of civil society; of the rights and duties of Government; of the political rights and duties of citizens, whether electoral or municipal; of all that relates to the judicial and legislative order, as well in respect of persons as of things; of the rules of public administration; of the rights and duties of corporations, and, in general, of all the rights of the State, not excluding the rights of conquest, peace, and war.

Next the minister passes on to note the profound impression which the simple enunciation of such doctrines must produce in the entire world; and asks at the same time how it could be possible for the bishops to consent to abdicate their episcopal authority, concentrating it in the hands of one alone; and how it could have been imagined that princes would lower their sovereignty before the supremacy of the Court of Rome.

Lastly, concluding, from all that has been set forth, that political and not religious interests are being discussed in the Council, Count Daru demands that the Governments be heard, or at least admitted to bear testimony to the characters, dispositions, and spirit (*disposizioni di spirito*) of the peoples they represent; and in particular that since France, by reason of the special protection which for twenty years she has exercised over the Pontifical State, has quite special duties to perform, he demands that the Government of that nation be permitted to exercise its right of receiving communication of projected decisions touching politics, and of requesting the delay necessary for bringing its observations before the Council, before any resolution be adopted by the same.

This is an abstract of the dispatch communicated to me by the Marquis de Banneville. I have thought proper to inform your Lordship of it; with the view, moreover, of communicating to you some short considerations which I think necessary to put in a clearer light the points touched upon by the minister, and to reply to the deductions made by him with respect to the points submitted to the deliberations of the Council.

And first, I cannot dispense myself from manifesting to your Lordship the satisfaction with which the Holy Father received the declaration expressed at the beginning of Count Daru's despatch, and repeated in the sequel, of the fixed intention of the

French Government to respect, and cause to be respected, in any event, the full liberty of the Council, as well in the discussion of the constitution referred to as of all others which shall hereafter come to be proposed to the examination of the venerable assembly. This declaration, which does great honour to the Government of a Catholic nation, is considered by the Holy See as the natural consequence of that protection which, for more than twenty years, France has exercised towards it; a protection which has called forth several times public demonstrations of gratitude on the part of the Supreme Pontiff, who always, but especially at the present moment, cannot do less than recognise and appreciate all its importance.

But, coming closer to the object of Count Daru's despatch, I must say frankly that I am quite unable to understand (*non mi è dato di comprendere*) how the declarations contained in the draft of Constitution on the Church, and the respective canons—published in the 'Augsburg Gazette' by a breach of the Pontifical secret—could have produced so grave and profound an impression on the mind of the French Cabinet, as to induce it to change the line of conduct which it had properly traced out for itself in regard to the discussions of the Vatican Council. The subjects treated in that draft of constitution, and in the canons appertaining to it, whatever modification they may undergo in the sequel from the judgment and decision of the Episcopate, are no more than the exposition of the maxims and fundamental principles of the Church; principles repeated over and over again in the Acts of former General Councils, proclaimed and developed in several Pontifical Constitutions, published in all Catholic states, and particularly in the celebrated dogmatic Bulls beginning 'Unigenitus,' and 'Auctorem Fidei,' where all the aforesaid doctrines are generally confirmed and sanctioned; principles, finally, which have constantly formed the basis of teaching in all periods of the Church, and in all Catholic schools, and have been defended by an innumerable host of ecclesiastical writers, whose works have served for text in public schools and colleges, as well Government schools as others, without any contradiction on the part of the civil authority, but rather, for the most part, with the approbation and encouragement of the same.

Much less would it be possible for me to agree upon the character and extent given by the minister to the doctrines contained in the aforesaid canons. In virtue of them there is not attributed, either to the Church or the Roman Pontiff, that direct and absolute power over the whole aggregate of political rights, of which

the despatch speaks ; nor is the subordination of the civil to the religious power to be understood in the sense set forth by him, but in another order of quite different bearing.

And in truth the Church has never intended, nor now intends, to exercise any direct and absolute power over the political rights of the State. Having received from God the lofty mission of guiding men, whether individually or as congregated in society, to a supernatural end, she has by that very fact the authority and the duty to judge concerning the morality and justice of all acts, internal and external, in relation to their conformity with the natural and divine law. And as no action, whether it be ordained by a supreme power, or be freely elicited by an individual, can be exempt from this character of morality and justice, so it happens that the judgment of the Church, though falling directly on the morality of the acts, indirectly reaches over everything with which that morality is conjoined. But this is not the same thing as to interfere directly in political affairs, which, by the order established by God and by the teaching of the Church herself, appertains to the temporal power without dependence on any other authority. The subordination also of the civil to the religious power is in the sense of the pre-eminence of the sacerdotium over the imperium, because of the superiority of the end of the one over that of the other.* Hence the authority of the imperium depends on that of the sacerdotium, as human things on divine, temporal on spiritual. And if temporal happiness, which is the end of the civil power, is subordinate to eternal beatitude, which is the spiritual end of the sacerdotium, it follows that in order to reach the end to which it has pleased God to direct them, the one power is subordinate to the other. Their powers (I say) are respectively subordinate in the same way as the ends to which they are directed.

It results from these principles that, if the infallibility of the Church extends also (not, however, in the sense indicated by the French despatch) to all that is necessary to preserve intact the Deposit of Faith, no harm is thereby done to science, history, or politics. The prerogative of infallibility is not an unknown fact in the Catholic world ; the supreme *magisterium* of the Church has dictated in every age rules of faith, without the internal order of States being thereby affected (*risentirsene*), or princes

* We have no exact English equivalents for the abstract terms—*sacerdozio*, *impero*. ‘*Sacerdozio*’ means the priestly office, and ‘*impero*’ civil authority in the most general sense.—Note of Tr.]

being disquieted thereat; rather, wisely appreciating the influence which such rules have on the good order of civil society, these have been themselves, from time to time, the vindicators and defenders of the doctrines defined, and have promoted, by the concurrence of the royal power, their full and respectful observance.

It follows, moreover, that if the Church was instituted by its Divine Founder as a true and perfect society, distinct from the civil power and independent of it, with full authority in the triple order, legislative, judicial, and coercive, no confusion springs therefrom in the march of human society, and in the exercise of the rights of the two powers. The competence of the one and the other is clearly distinct and determined, according to the end to which they are respectively directed. The Church does not, in virtue of her authority, intervene directly and absolutely in the constitutive principles of governments, in the forms of civil regulations, in the political rights of citizens, in the duties of the State, and in the other points indicated in the minister's note. But, whereas no civil society can subsist without a supreme principle regulating the morality of its acts and laws, the Church has received from God this lofty mission, which tends to the happiness of the people, while she in no way embarrasses, by the exercise of this her ministry, the free and prompt action of Governments. She, in fact, by inculcating the principle of rendering to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, imposes at the same time upon her children the obligation of obeying the authority of princes for conscience sake. But these should also recognize that if anywhere a law is made opposed to the principles of eternal justice, to obey would not be a giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, but a taking from God that which is God's.

I proceed now to say a word on the profound impression which the minister expects will be made throughout the world by the mere enunciation of the principles developed in the draft of constitution which forms the object of his despatch. In truth it is not easy to persuade oneself how the doctrines contained in that draft, and understood in the sense above pointed out, can produce the profound impression of which the minister speaks; unless indeed their spirit and character be wrested, or that he speaks of those who, professing principles different from those professed by the Catholic Church, cannot of course approve of such principles being inculcated and sanctioned afresh. I say afresh; because the doctrines contained in that document, as I have already

remarked, far from being new and unheard of, embrace no more (non sono nel loro complesso) than the reproduction of the Catholic teaching professed in every age and in every Church, as will be solemnly proved by all the pastors of the Catholic name, called by the head of the hierarchy to bear authentic witness, in the midst of the Council, to the faith and traditions of the Church Universal. It is to be hoped rather that the Catholic doctrine, once more solemnly confirmed by the Fathers of the Vatican Council, will be greeted by the faithful people as the rainbow of peace and the dawn of a brighter future. The object of confirming those doctrines is no other than to recall to modern society the maxims of justice and virtue, and thus to restore to the world that peace and prosperity which can only be found in the perfect keeping of the divine law. This is the firm hope of all honest men, who received with joy the announcement of the Council; this is the conviction of the Fathers of the Church, who have assembled with alacrity in such numbers at the voice of the Chief Pastor; this is the prayer which the Vicar of Jesus Christ is always sending up to God in the midst of the grievous troubles which surround his Pontificate.

For the rest, I do not understand why the bishops should have to renounce their episcopal authority in consequence of the definition of Pontifical Infallibility. This prerogative is not only as ancient as the Church herself, but has been, moreover, always exercised in the Roman Church, without the divine authority and the rights conferred by God on the pastors of the Church being thereby altered in the least degree. Its definition therefore would in no way go to change the relations between the bishops and their head. The rights of the one and the prerogatives of the other are well defined in the Church's divine constitution; and the confirmation of the Roman Pontiff's supreme authority and magisterium, far from being prejudicial to the rights of bishops, will furnish a new support to their authority and magisterium, since the strength and vigour of the members is just so much as comes to them from the head.

By parity of reason—the authority of the pastors of the Church being strengthened anew by the solemn confirmation of Pontifical Infallibility—that of princes, especially Catholic princes, will be no less strengthened. The prosperity of the Church and the peace of the State depend upon the close and intimate union of the two supreme powers. Who does not see then that the authority of princes not only will not receive any blow from the pontifical supremacy, but will instead find therein its strongest

support? As sons of the Church, they owe obedience, respect, and protection to the authority placed on earth by God to guide princes and peoples to the last end of eternal salvation; nor can they refuse to recognise that royal power has been granted them for the defence also and guardianship of Christian society. But by the very fact of the principle of authority receiving new vigour in the Church and in its head, the sovereign power must necessarily receive a new impulse, since it has from God a common origin, and consequently common interests also. And so, if the wickedness of the age, by separating the one from the other, has placed both in troublesome and painful conditions, to the great injury of human society, closer relations will unite both in indissoluble bonds for the defence of the grand interests of religion and society, and will prepare for them the way to a brighter and more prosperous future.

From what has been said up to this point it results clearly that the Council has not been called to discuss political interests, as the despatch of Count Daru seems to indicate. We may conclude, therefore, that the French Government, finding no longer a sufficient reason for departing from the line of conduct it had set itself to follow in respect of the Council, will not desire to insist on the request for communication of the Decrees which will be submitted to the examination and discussion of the venerable assembly of bishops. On which point indeed it occurs to me to observe that the right claimed for his purpose by the minister on the ground of the Concordat in force between the Holy See and France, cannot, in my opinion, find any support in that act. In the first place, no special mention of this particular point is found in the articles of that convention. Then, further, the relations of Church and State on points belonging to both powers (*punto di mista competenza*) having been regulated by the Concordat, the decisions, which may be come to by the Vatican Council on such matters will in no way alter the special stipulations made by the Holy See, as well with France as with other governments, as long as these place no obstacles in the way of the full keeping of the conditions agreed upon. I may also add that if the Holy See has not thought fit to invite Catholic princes to the Council, as it did on other occasions, every one will easily understand that this is chiefly to be attributed to the changed circumstances of the times. The altered state of the relations between the Church and the Civil Governments has made more difficult their mutual action in the regulation of things religious.

I desire however to hope that the Government of his Majesty

the Emperor, fully satisfied with the explanations given by me in the name of the Holy See to the various points of Count Daru's despatch, and recognising at the same time the difficulties in which the Holy Father might find himself, will not insist further on the demand of communication beforehand of the drafts of constitutions to be examined by the Fathers of the Council. Were such demand conceded, there would be question of things tending to embarrass the free action of the Council. Moreover, since the Church is keeping within the limits assigned to her by her Divine Founder, no anxiety need remain to the Government of his Majesty on account of the deliberations which may come to be adopted by the Episcopal assembly. Finally the French Government will thus give, by the very fact, a new proof of those dispositions of goodwill which it has manifested in respect of the full liberty of the Conciliar deliberations, and of the confidence which it declares it reposes in the wisdom and prudence of the Apostolic See.

Your Lordship will please read this despatch to Count Daru, as also leave him a copy.

Meanwhile receive, &c. &c.,

(Signed) G. CARD. ANTONELLI.

III.

ACT OF CONDEMNATION BY THE COUNCIL OF
CERTAIN PAMPHLETS, &c.

REVERENDISSIMI PATRES,—Ex quo Sacrosancta Synodus Vaticana, opitulante Deo, congregata est, acerrimum statim contra eam bellum exarsit; atque ad venerandam, eius auctoritatem penes fidem populum imminuendam, ac si fieri posset, penitus labefactandam, contumeliose de illa detrahere, eamque putidissimis calumniis oppetere plures scriptores certatim aggressi sunt non modo inter heterodoxos et apertos Crucis Christi inimicos, sed etiam inter eos qui Catholicae Ecclesiae filios sese dictitant, et quod maxime dolendum est inter ipsos eius sacros ministros.

Quae in publicis cuiusque idiomatis ephemeridibus, quaeque in libellis absque auctoris nomine passim editis et furtive distributis, congesta hac de re fuerint probrosa mendacia, omnes apprime norunt, quin nobis necesse sit illa singillatim edicere. Verum inter anonymos istiusmodi libellos duo praesertim extant, gallice conscripti sub titulis: *Ce qui se passe au Concile et La dernière heure du Concile*, qui ob suam calumniandi artem, obtrectandique licentiam ceteris palmam praeripuisse videntur. In his enim nedum huius Concilii dignitas ac plena libertas turpissimis oppugnantur mendaciis, iuraque Apostolicae Sedis evertuntur; sed ipsa quoque SS^mi Dñi Nostri augusta persona gravibus lacessitur iniuriis. Iam vero Nos officii nostri memores, ne silentium nostrum, si diutius protraheretur, sinistre a malevolis hominibus interpretari valeat, contra tot tantasque obtrectationes vocem extollere cogimur, atque in conspectu omnium vestrum, R^mi Patres, protestari ac declarare: falsa omnino esse et calumniosa quaecumque in praedictis ephemeridibus et libellis effutiuntur, sive in spretum et contumeliam SS^mi Dñi Nostri et Apostolicae Sedis, sive in dedecus huius Sacrosanctae Synodi, et contra assertum defectum in illa legitimae libertatis.

Datum ex Aula Concilii Vaticani, die 16 Iulii 1870.

PHILIPPUS Card. DE ANGELIS *Praeses.*

ANTONINUS Card. DE LUCA *Praeses.*

ANDREAS Card. BIZZARRI *Praeses.*

ALOYSIUS Card. BILIO *Praeses.*

HANNIBAL Card. CAPALTI *Praeses.*

IOSEPHUS *Ep. S. Hippolyti, Secretarius.*

IV.

TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTIONS.

CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA DE FIDE CATHOLICA.

PIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, SACRO APPROBANTE
CONCILIO, AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

DEI Filius et generis humani Redemptor Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, ad Patrem cœlestem rediturus, cum Ecclesiâ suâ in terris militante, omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi futurum se esse promisit. Quare dilectæ Sponsæ præsto esse, adsistere docenti, operanti benedicere, periclitanti opem ferre nullo unquam tempore destitit. Hæc vero salutaris ejus providentia, cum ex aliis beneficiis innumeris continenter apparuit, tum iis manifestissime comperta est fructibus, qui orbi christiano e Conciliis œcumenicis ac nominatim e Tridentino, iniquis licet temporibus celebrato, amplissimi provenerunt. Hinc enim sanctissima religionis dogmata pressius definita, uberiusque exposita, errores damnati atque cohibiti; hinc ecclesiastica disciplina restituta firmitusque sancita, promotum in Clero scientiæ et pietatis studium, parata adolescentibus ad sacram militiam educandis collegia, christiani denique populi mores et accuratiore fidelium eruditione et frequentiore sacramentorum usu instaurati. Hinc præterea arctior membrorum cum visibili capite communio, universoque corpori Christi mystico additus vigor; hinc religiosæ multiplicatæ familiæ, aliaque christianæ pietatis instituta, hinc ille etiam assiduus et usque ad sanguinis effusionem constans ardor in Christi regno late per orbem propagando.

Verumtamen hæc aliaque insignia emolumenta, quæ per ultimam maxime œcumenicam Synodum divinâ clementiâ Ecclesiæ largita est, dum grato, quo par est, animo recolimus, acerbum compescere haud possumus dolorem ob mala gravissima, inde potissimum orta, quod ejusdem sacrosanctæ Synodi apud per-

multos vel auctoritas contempta, vel sapientissima neglecta fuere decreta.

Nemo enim ignorat hæreses quas Tridentini Patres proscripserunt, dum, rejecto divino Ecclesiæ magisterio, res ad religionem spectantes privati cujusvis judicio permetterentur, in sectas paulatim dissolutas esse multiplices, quibus inter se dissentientibus et concertantibus, omnis tandem in Christum fides apud non paucos labefacta est. Itaque ipsa sacra Biblia, quæ antea christianæ doctrinæ unicus fons et judex asserebantur, jam non pro divinis haberi, imo mythicis commentis accenseri cœperunt.

Tum nata est et late nimis per orbem vagata illa rationalismi seu naturalismi doctrina, quæ religioni christianæ utpote supernaturali instituto per omnia adversans, summo studio molitur, ut Christo, qui solus Dominus et Salvator noster est, a mentibus humanis, a vitâ et moribus populorum excluso, meræ quod vocant rationis vel naturæ regnum stabiliatur. Relictâ autem projectâque christianâ religione, negato vero Deo et Christo ejus, prolapsa tandem est multorum mens in pantheismi materialismi atheismi barathrum, ut jam ipsam rationalem naturam, omnemque justî rectique normam negantes, ima humanæ societatis fundamenta diruere conitarentur.

Hâc porro impietate circumquaque grassante, infeliciter contigit, ut plures etiam e catholicæ Ecclesiæ filiis a viâ veræ pietatis aberrarent, in iisque, diminutis paullatim veritatibus, sensus catholicus attenuaretur. Variis enim ac peregrinis doctrinis abducti, naturam et gratiam, scientiam humanam et fidem divinam perperam commiscentes, genuinum sensum dogmatum, quem tenet ac docet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, depravare, integritatemque et sinceritatem fidei in periculum adducere comperiuntur.

Quibus omnibus perspectis, fieri qui potest, ut non commoveantur intima Ecclesiæ viscera? Quemadmodum enim Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire; quemadmodum Christus venit, ut salvum faceret, quod perierat, et filios Dei, qui erant dispersi, congregaret in unum: ita Ecclesia, a Deo populorum mater et magistra constituta, omnibus debetricem se novit, ac lapsos erigere, labantes sustinere, revertentes amplecti, confirmare bonos et ad meliora provehere parata semper et intenta est. Quapropter nullo tempore a Dei veritate, quæ sanat omnia, testanda et prædicanda quiescere potest, sibi dictum esse non ignorans: ‘Spiritus meus, qui est in te, et verba mea, quæ posui in ore tuo, non recedent de ore tuo amodo et usque in sempiternum.’ *

* Isai. lix. 21.

Nos itaque, inhærentes Prædecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis, pro supremo Nostro Apostolico munere veritatem catholicam docere ac tueri, perversasque doctrinas reprobare nunquam intermisimus. Nunc autem sedentibus Nobiscum et judicantibus universi orbis Episcopis, in hanc œcumenicam Synodum auctoritate Nostrâ in Spiritu Sancto congregatis, innixi Dei verbo scripto et tradito, prout ab Ecclesiâ catholicâ sancte custoditum et genuine expositum accepimus, ex hâc Petri Cathedrâ in conspectu omnium salutarem Christi doctrinam profiteri et declarare constituimus, adversis erroribus potestate nobis a Deo traditâ proscriptis atque damnatis.

CAPUT I.

DE DEO RERUM OMNIUM CREATORE.

Sancta Catholica Apostolica Romana Ecclesia credit et confitetur, unum esse Deum verum et vivum, Creatorem ac Dominum cœli et terræ, omnipotentem, æternum, immensum, incomprehensibilem, intellectu ac voluntate omnique perfectione infinitum; qui cum sit una singularis, simplex omnino et incommutabilis substantia spiritualis, prædicandus est re et essentiâ a mundo distinctus, in se et ex se beatissimus, et super omnia, quæ præter ipsum sunt et concipi possunt, ineffabiliter excelsus.

Hic solus verus Deus bonitate suâ et omnipotenti virtute non ad augendam suam beatitudinem, nec ad acquirendam, sed ad manifestandam perfectionem suam per bona, quæ creaturis imperitur, liberrimo consilio simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam.*

Universa vero, quæ condidit, Deus providentiâ suâ tuetur atque gubernat, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter.† Omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus,‡ ea etiam, quæ liberâ creaturarum actione futura sunt.

* Concil. Lateran. IV. cap. i. De fide Catholica.

† Sap. viii. 1.

‡ Cf. Hebr. iv. 13.

CAPUT II.

DE REVELATIONE.

Eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum, rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanæ rationis lumine e rebus creatis certo cognosci posse; invisibilia enim ipsius, a creaturâ mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur: * attamen placuisse ejus sapientiæ et bonitati, aliâ, eâque supernaturali viâ se ipsum ac æterna voluntatis suæ decreta humano generi revelare, dicente Apostolo: 'Multifariâ, multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in Prophetis: novissime, diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio.' †

Huic divinæ revelationi tribuendum quidem est, ut ea, quæ in rebus divinis humanæ rationi per se impervia non sunt, in præsentī quoque generis humani conditione ab omnibus expedite, firmâ certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint. Non hâc tamen de causâ revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinitâ bonitate suâ ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalē, ad participanda scilicet bona divina, quæ humanæ mentis intelligentiam omnino superant; siquidem oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt illum. ‡

Hæc porro supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiæ fidem, a sanctâ Tridentinâ Synodo declaratam, continetur in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt. § Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgatâ latinâ editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod solâ humanâ industriâ concinnati, suâ deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt.

Quoniam verò, quæ sancta Tridentina Synodus de interpretatione divinæ Scripturæ ad coercenda petulantia ingenia salubriter decrevit, a quibusdam hominibus pravè exponuntur, Nos, idem

* Rom. i. 20.

† Hebr. i. 1, 2.

‡ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

§ Concil. Trid. Sess. IV. de Can. Script.

decretum renovantes, hanc illius mentem esse declaramus, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ, pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturæ habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.

CAPUT III.

DE FIDE.

Quum homo a Deo tanquam Creatore et Domino suo totus dependeat, et ratio creata increatæ Veritati penitus subjecta sit, plenum revelanti Deo intellectûs et voluntatis obsequium fide præstare tenemur. Hanc vero fidem, quæ humanæ salutis initium est, Ecclesia catholica profitetur, virtutem esse supernaturalem, quâ, Dei aspirante et adjuvante gratiâ, ab eo revelata vera esse credimus, non propter intrinsecam rerum veritatem naturali rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest. Est enim fides, testante Apostolo, sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium.*

Ut nihilominus fidei nostræ obsequium rationi consentaneum esset, voluit Deus cum internis Spiritûs Sancti auxiliis externa jungi revelationis suæ argumenta, facta scilicet divina, atque imprimis miracula et prophetias, quæ cum Dei omnipotentiam et infinitam scientiam luculenter commonstrent, divinæ revelationis signa sunt certissima et omnium intelligentiæ accommodata. Quare tum Moyses et Prophetæ, tum ipse maxime Christus Dominus multa et manifestissima miracula et prophetias ediderunt, et de Apostolis legimus: 'Illi autem profecti prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.' † Et rursum scriptum est: 'Habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis attendentes quasi lucernæ lucenti in caliginoso loco.' ‡

Licet autem fidei assensus nequaquam sit motus animi cæcus: nemo tamen evangelicæ prædicationi consentire potest, sicut oportet ad salutem consequendam, absque illuminatione et inspi-

* Hebr. xi. 1.

† Marc. xvi. 20.

‡ 2 Petr. i. 19.

ratione Spiritûs Sancti, qui dat omnibus suavitatem in consentiendo et credendo veritati.* Quare fides ipsa in se, etiamsi per charitatem non operetur, donum Dei est, et actus ejus est opus ad salutem pertinens, quo homo liberam præstat ipsi Deo obedientiam gratiæ ejus, cui resistere posset, consentiendo et cooperando.

Porro fide divinâ et catholicâ ea omnia credenda sunt, quæ in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesiâ sive solemni judicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur.

Quoniam vero sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, et ad filiorum ejus consortium pervenire; ideo nemini unquam sine illâ contigit justificatio, nec ullus, nisi in eâ perseveraverit usque in finem, vitam æternam assequetur. Ut autem officio veram fidem amplectendi, in eâque constanter perseverandi satisfacere possemus, Deus per Filium suum unigenitum Ecclesiam instituit, suæque institutionis manifestis notis instruxit, ut ea tamquam custos et magistra verbi revelati ab omnibus posset agnoscî. Ad solam enim catholicam Ecclesiam ea pertinent omnia, quæ ad evidentem fidei christianæ credibilitatem tam multa et tam mira divinitus sunt disposita. Quin etiam Ecclesia per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fœcunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinæ suæ legationis testimonium irrefragabile.

Quo fit, ut ipsa veluti signum levatum in nationes,† et ad se invitet, qui nondum crediderunt, et filios suos certiores faciat, firmissimo niti fundamento fidem, quam profitentur. Cui quidem testimonio efficax subsidium accedit ex supernâ virtute. Etenim benignissimus Dominus et errantes gratiâ suâ excitat atque adjuvat, ut ad agnitionem veritatis venire possint; et eos, quos de tenebris transtulit in admirabile lumen suum, in hoc eodem lumine ut perseverent, gratiâ suâ confirmat, non deserens, nisi deseratur. Quocirca minime par est conditio eorum, qui per cœlestæ fidei donum catholicæ veritati adhæserunt, atque eorum, qui ducti opinionibus humanis, falsam religionem sectantur; illi enim, qui fidem sub Ecclesiæ magisterio susceperunt, nullam unquam habere possunt justam causam mutandi, aut in dubium fidem eandem revocandi. Quæ cum ita sint, gratias agentes Deo Patri, qui dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine, tantam ne-negligamus salutem, sed aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Jesum, teneamus spei nostræ confessionem indeclinabilem.

* Syn. Araus. ii. can. 7.

† Isai. xi. 12.

CAPUT IV.

DE FIDE ET RATIONE.

Hoc quoque perpetuus Ecclesiæ catholicæ consensus tenuit et tenet, duplicem esse ordinem cognitionis, non solum principio, sed objecto etiam distinctum: principio quidem, quia in altero naturali ratione, in altero fide divinâ cognoscimus; objecto autem, quia præter ea, ad quæ naturalis ratio pertingere potest, credenda nobis proponuntur mysteria in Deo abscondita, quæ, nisi revelata divinitus, innotescere non possunt. Quocirca Apostolus, qui a gentibus Deum per ea, quæ facta sunt, cognitum esse testatur, disserens tamen de gratiâ et veritate, quæ per Jesum Christum facta est,* pronuntiat: 'Loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quæ abscondita est, quam prædestinavit Deus ante sæcula in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum hujus sæculi cognovit: nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum: Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam profunda Dei.† Et ipse Unigenitus confitetur Patri, quia abscondit hæc a sapientibus, et prudentibus, et revelavit ea parvulis.‡

Ac ratio quidem, fide illustrata, cum sedulò, piè et sobriè quærit, aliquam, Deo dante, mysteriorum intelligentiam eamque fructuosissimam assequitur, tum ex eorum, quæ naturaliter cognoscit, analogiâ, tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo; numquam tamen idonea redditur ad ea perspicienda instar veritatum, quæ proprium ipsius objectum constituunt. Divina enim mysteria suapte naturâ intellectum creatum sic excedunt, ut etiam revelatione tradita et fide suscepta, ipsius tamen fidei velamine contacta et quâdam quasi caligine obvoluta maneant, quamdiu in hâc mortali vitâ peregrinamur a Domino: per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem.§

Verum etsi fides sit supra rationem, nulla tamen unquam inter fidem et rationem vera dissensio esse potest; cum idem Deus, qui mysteria revelat et fidem infundit, animo humano rationis lumen indiderit; Deus autem negare seipsum non possit, nec verum vero unquam contradicere. Inanis autem hujus contradictionis species inde potissimum oritur, quod vel fidei dogmata ad mentem Ecclesiæ intellecta et exposita non fuerint, vel opinionum commenta pro rationis effatis habeantur. Omnem igitur assertionem veritati illuminatæ fidei contrariam omnino

* Joan. i. 17.

† 1 Cor. ii. 7, 9.

‡ Matth. xi. 25.

§ 2 Cor. v. 7.

falsam esse definimus.* Porro Ecclesia, quæ una cum apostolico munere docendi, mandatum accepit, fidei depositum custodiendi, jus etiam et officium divinitus habet falsi nominis scientiam proscribendi, ne quis decipiatur per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam.† Quapropter omnes christiani fideles hujusmodi opiniones, quæ fidei doctrinæ contrariæ esse cognoscuntur, maxime si ab Ecclesiâ reprobatae fuerint, non solum prohibentur tanquam legitimæ scientiæ conclusiones defendere, sed pro erroribus potius, qui fallacem veritatis speciem præ se ferant, habere tenentur omnino.

Neque solùm fides et ratio inter se dissidere nunquam possunt, sed opem quoque sibi mutuam ferunt, cum recta ratio fidei fundamenta demonstret, ejusque lumine illustrata rerum divinarum scientiam excolat; fides vero rationem ab erroribus liberet ac tueatur, eamque multiplici cognitione instruat. Quapropter tantum abest, ut Ecclesia humanarum artium et disciplinarum culturæ obsistat, ut hanc multis modis juvet atque promoveat. Non enim commoda ab iis ad hominum vitam dimanantia aut ignorat aut despicit; fatetur imo, eas, quemadmodum a Deo, scientiarum Domino, profectæ sunt, ita si rite pertractentur, ad Deum, juvante ejus gratiâ, perducere. Nec sane ipsa vetat, ne hujusmodi disciplinæ in suo quæque ambitu propriis utantur principiis et propriâ methodo; sed justam hanc libertatem agnoscens, id sedulò cavet, ne divinæ doctrinæ repugnando errores in se suscipiant, aut fines proprios transgressæ, ea, quæ sunt fidei, occupent et perturbent.

Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsæ tradita, fideliter custodiendo et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu, altioris intelligentiæ specie et nomine, recedendum. Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum, quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesiæ, ætatum ac sæculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia: sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eâdemque sententiâ.‡

* Concil. Lateran. V. Bulla *Apostolici regiminis*.

† Coloss. ii. 8.

‡ Vincent. Lirin. *Common.* n. 28.

CANONES.

I.

De Deo rerum omnium Creatore.

1. Si quis unum verum Deum visibiliū et invisibiliū Creatorum et Dominum negaverit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis præter materiam nihil esse affirmare non erubuerit; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, unam eandemque esse Dei et rerum omnium substantiam vel essentiam; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, res finitas, tum corporeas tum spirituales, aut saltem spirituales, e divinâ substantiâ emanasse;

aut diuinam essentiam sui manifestatione vel evolutione fieri omnia;

aut denique Deum esse ens universale seu indefinitum, quod sese determinando constituat rerum universitatem in genera, species et individua distinctam; anathema sit.

5. Si quis non confiteatur, mundum, resque omnes, quæ in eo continentur, et spirituales et materiales, secundum totam suam substantiam a Deo ex nihilo esse productas;

aut Deum dixerit non voluntate ab omni necessitate liberâ, sed tam necessario creasse, quam necessario amat seipsum;

aut mundum ad Dei gloriam conditum esse negaverit; anathema sit.

II.

De Revelatione.

1. Si quis dixerit, Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea, quæ facta sunt, naturali rationis humanæ lumine certo cognosci non posse; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fieri non posse, aut non expedire, ut per revelationem divinam homo de Deo, cultuque ei exhibendo edoceatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, hominem ad cognitionem et perfectionem, quæ naturalem superet, divinitus evehi non posse, sed ex seipso ad omnis tandem veri et boni possessionem jugi profectu pertingere posse et debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit.

III.

De Fide.

1. Si quis dixerit, rationem humanam ita independentem esse, ut fides ei a Deo imperari non possit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fidem divinam a naturali de Deo et rebus moralibus scientiâ non distingui, ac propterea ad fidem divinam non requiri, ut revelata veritas propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis credatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, revelationem divinam externis signis credibilem fieri non posse, ideoque solâ internâ cujusque experientiâ aut inspiratione privatâ homines ad fidem moveri debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, miracula nulla fieri posse, proindeque omnes de iis narrationes, etiam in sacrâ Scripturâ contentas, inter fabulas vel mythos ablegandas esse: aut miracula certo cognosci nunquam posse, nec iis divinam religionis christianæ originem ritè probari; anathema sit.

5. Si quis dixerit, assensum fidei christianæ non esse liberum, sed argumentis humanæ rationis necessario produci; aut ad solam fidem vivam, quæ per charitatem operatur, gratiam Dei necessariam esse; anathema sit.

6. Si quis dixerit, parem esse conditionem fidelium atque eorum, qui ad fidem unice veram nondum pervenerunt, ita ut catholici justam causam habere possint, fidem, quam sub Ecclesiæ magisterio jam susceperunt, assensu suspenso in dubium vocandi, donec demonstrationem scientificam credibilitatis et veritatis fidei suæ absolverint; anathema sit.

IV.

De Fide et Ratione.

1. Si quis dixerit, in revelatione divinâ nulla vera et proprie dicta mysteria contineri, sed universa fidei dogmata posse per rationem rite excultam e naturalibus principiis intelligi et demonstrari; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, disciplinas humanas eâ cum libertate tractandas esse, ut earum assertiones, etsi doctrinæ revelatæ adversentur, tanquam veræ retineri, neque ab Ecclesiâ proscribi possint; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, fieri posse, ut dogmatibus ab Ecclesiâ propositis, aliquando secundum progressum scientiæ sensus tribuendus sit alius ab eo, quem intellexit et intelligit Ecclesia; anathema sit.

Itaque supremi pastoralis Nostri officii debitum exequentes, omnes Christi fideles, maxime vere eos, qui præsunt vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Jesu Christi obtestamur, nec non ejusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate jubemus, ut ad hos errores a Sanctâ Ecclesiâ arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimæ fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.

Quoniam vero satis non est, hæreticam pravitatem devitare, nisi ii quoque errores diligenter fugiantur, qui ad illam plus minusve accedunt; omnes officii monemus, servandi etiam Constitutiones et Decreta, quibus pravæ ejusmodi opiniones, quæ isthic diserte non enumerantur, ab hâc Sanctâ Sede proscriptæ et prohibitæ sunt.

Datum Romæ in publicâ Sessione in Vaticanâ Basilicâ solemniter celebratâ anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die vigesimâ quartâ Aprilis.

Pontificatûs Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

Ita est.

JOSEPHUS,
*Episcopus S. Hippolyti,
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.*

TRANSLATION.

DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH
THE APPROVAL OF THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR PER-
PETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Son of God, and Redeemer of Man-
kind, before returning to his heavenly Father, promised that He
would be with the Church Militant on earth all days, even to
the consummation of the world. Therefore, He has never ceased

to be present with His beloved Spouse, to assist her when teaching, to bless her when at work, and to aid her when in danger. And this His salutary providence, which has been constantly displayed by other innumerable benefits, has been most manifestly proved by the abundant good results which Christendom has derived from Œcumenical Councils, and particularly from that of Trent, although it was held in evil times. For, as a consequence, the sacred doctrines of the faith have been defined more closely, and set forth more fully, errors have been condemned and restrained, ecclesiastical discipline has been restored and more firmly secured, the love of learning and of piety has been promoted among the clergy, colleges have been established to educate youth for the sacred warfare, and the morals of the Christian world have been renewed by the more accurate training of the faithful, and by the more frequent use of the sacraments. Moreover, there has resulted a closer communion of the members with the visible head, an increase of vigour in the whole mystical body of Christ, the multiplication of religious congregations and of other institutions of Christian piety, and such ardour in extending the kingdom of Christ throughout the world, as constantly endures, even to the sacrifice of life itself.

But while we recall with due thankfulness these and other signal benefits which the divine mercy has bestowed on the Church, especially by the last Œcumenical Council, we cannot restrain our bitter sorrow for the grave evils, which are principally due to the fact that the authority of that sacred Synod has been contemned, or its wise decrees neglected, by many.

No one is ignorant that the heresies proscribed by the Fathers of Trent, by which the divine magisterium of the Church was rejected, and all matters regarding religion were surrendered to the judgment of each individual, gradually became dissolved into many sects, which disagreed and contended with one another, until at length not a few lost all faith in Christ. Even the Holy Scriptures, which had previously been declared the sole source and judge of Christian doctrine, began to be held no longer as divine, but to be ranked among the fictions of mythology.

Then there arose, and too widely overspread the world, that doctrine of rationalism, or naturalism, which opposes itself in every way to the Christian religion as a supernatural institution, and works with the utmost zeal in order that, after Christ, our sole Lord and Saviour, has been excluded from the minds of men, and from the life and moral acts of nations, the reign of what they call pure reason or nature may be established. And after for-

saking and rejecting the Christian religion, and denying the true God and His Christ, the minds of many have sunk into the abyss of Pantheism, Materialism, and Atheism, until, denying rational nature itself and every sound rule of right, they labour to destroy the deepest foundations of human society.

Unhappily, it has yet further come to pass that, while this impiety prevailed on every side, many even of the children of the Catholic Church have strayed from the path of true piety, and by the gradual diminution of the truths they held, the Catholic sense became weakened in them. For, led away by various and strange doctrines, utterly confusing nature and grace, human science and divine faith, they are found to deprave the true sense of the doctrines which our Holy Mother Church holds and teaches, and endanger the integrity and the soundness of the faith.

Considering these things, how can the Church fail to be deeply stirred? For, even as God wills all men to be saved, and to arrive at the knowledge of the truth; even as Christ came to save what had perished, and to gather together the children of God who had been dispersed, so the Church, constituted by God the mother and teacher of nations, knows its own office as debtor to all, and is ever ready and watchful to raise the fallen, to support those who are falling, to embrace those who return, to confirm the good and to carry them on to better things. Hence, it can never forbear from witnessing to and proclaiming the truth of God, which heals all things, knowing the words addressed to it: 'My Spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, from henceforth and for ever' (Isaias lix. 21).

We, therefore, following the footsteps of our predecessors, have never ceased, as becomes our supreme Apostolic office, from teaching and defending Catholic truth, and condemning doctrines of error. And now, with the Bishops of the whole world assembled round us and judging with us, congregated by our authority, and in the Holy Spirit, in this Œcumenical Council, we, supported by the Word of God written and handed down as we received it from the Catholic Church, preserved with sacredness and set forth according to truth,—have determined to profess and declare the salutary teaching of Christ from this Chair of Peter and in sight of all, proscribing and condemning, by the power given to us of God, all errors contrary thereto.

CHAPTER I.

OF GOD, THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.

The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church believes and confesses that there is one true and living God, Creator and Lord of heaven and earth, Almighty, Eternal, Immense, Incomprehensible, Infinite in intelligence, in will, and in all perfection, who, as being one, sole, absolutely simple and immutable spiritual substance, is to be declared as really and essentially distinct from the world, of supreme beatitude in and from Himself, and ineffably exalted above all things which exist, or are conceivable, except Himself.

This one only true God, of His own goodness and almighty power, not for the increase or acquirement of His own happiness, but to manifest His perfection by the blessings which He bestows on creatures, and with absolute freedom of counsel, created out of nothing, from the very first beginning of time, both the spiritual and the corporeal creature, to wit, the angelical and the mundane and afterwards the human creature, as partaking, in a sense, of both, consisting of spirit and of body.

God protects and governs by His Providence all things which He hath made, 'reaching from end to end mightily, and ordering all things sweetly' (Wisdom viii. 1). For 'all things are bare and open to His eyes' (Heb. iv. 13), even those which are yet to be by the free action of creatures.

CHAPTER II.

OF REVELATION.

The same Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God, the beginning and end of all things, may be certainly known by the natural light of human reason, by means of created things; 'for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made' (Romans i. 20), but that it pleased His wisdom and bounty to reveal Himself, and the eternal decrees of His will, to mankind by another and a supernatural way: as the Apostle says, 'God, having spoken on divers occasions, and many ways, in times past, to the fathers by the prophets; last of all, in these days, hath spoken to us by His Son' (Hebrews i. 1, 2).

It is to be ascribed to this divine revelation, that such truths among things divine as of themselves are not beyond human reason, can, even in the present condition of mankind, be known by every one with facility, with firm assurance, and with no admixture of error. This, however, is not the reason why revelation is to be called absolutely necessary; but because God of His infinite goodness has ordained man to a supernatural end, viz., to be a sharer of divine blessings which utterly exceed the intelligence of the human mind: for 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him' (1 Cor. ii. 9).

Further, this supernatural revelation, according to the universal belief of the Church, declared by the Sacred Synod of Trent, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions which have come down to us, having been received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Apostles themselves, by the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have been transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand.* And these books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts, as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the ancient Latin edition of the Vulgate. These the Church holds to be sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself.

And as the things which the Holy Synod of Trent decreed for the good of souls concerning the interpretation of Divine Scripture, in order to curb rebellious spirits, have been wrongly explained by some, We, renewing the said decree, declare this to be their sense, that, in matters of faith and morals, appertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be held as the true sense of Holy Scripture which our Holy Mother Church hath held and holds, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scripture; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret the Sacred Scripture contrary to this sense, nor, likewise, contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

* Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Session the Fourth. Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures.

CHAPTER III.

ON FAITH.

Man being wholly dependent upon God, as upon his Creator and Lord, and created reason being absolutely subject to uncreated truth, we are bound to yield to God, by faith in His revelation, the full obedience of our intelligence and will. And the Catholic Church teaches that this faith, which is the beginning of man's salvation, is a supernatural virtue, whereby, inspired and assisted by the grace of God, we believe that the things which He has revealed are true; not because of the intrinsic truth of the things, viewed by the natural light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself who reveals them, and Who can neither be deceived nor deceive. For faith, as the Apostle testifies, is 'the substance of things hoped for, the conviction of things that appear not' (Hebrews i. 11).

Nevertheless, in order that the obedience of our faith might be in harmony with reason, God willed that to the interior help of the Holy Spirit, there should be joined exterior proofs of His revelation; to wit, divine facts, and especially miracles and prophecies, which, as they manifestly display the omnipotence and infinite knowledge of God, are most certain proofs of His divine revelation, adapted to the intelligence of all men. Wherefore, both Moses and the Prophets, and most especially, Christ our Lord Himself, showed forth many and most evident miracles and prophecies; and of the Apostles we read: 'But they going forth preached everywhere, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed' (Mark xvi. 20). And again, it is written: 'We have the more firm prophetic word, whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light shining in a dark place' (2 St. Peter i. 19).

But though the assent of faith is by no means a blind action of the mind, still no man can assent to the Gospel teaching, as is necessary to obtain salvation, without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who gives to all men sweetness in assenting to and believing in the truth.* Wherefore, Faith itself, even when it does not work by charity, is in itself a gift of God, and the act of faith is a work appertaining to salvation, by

* Canons of the Second Council of Orange, confirmed by Pope Boniface II., A.D. 529, against the Semipelagians, can. vii. See Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, p. 50. Würzburg, 1854.

which man yields voluntary obedience to God Himself, by assenting to and co-operating with His grace, which he is able to resist.

Further, all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment, or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed.

And since, without faith, it is impossible to please God, and to attain to the fellowship of His children, therefore without faith no one has ever attained justification, nor will any one obtain eternal life, unless he shall have persevered in faith unto the end. And, that we may be able to satisfy the obligation of embracing the true faith and of constantly persevering in it, God has instituted the Church through His only begotten Son, and has bestowed on it manifest notes of that institution, that it may be recognised by all men as the guardian and teacher of the revealed Word; for to the Catholic Church alone belong all those many and admirable tokens which have been divinely established for the evident credibility of the Christian Faith. Nay, more, the Church by itself, with its marvellous extension, its eminent holiness, and its inexhaustible fruitfulness in every good thing, with its Catholic unity and its invincible stability, is a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefutable witness of its own divine mission.

And thus, like a standard set up unto the nations (Isaias xi. 12), it both invites to itself those who do not yet believe, and assures its children that the faith which they profess rests on the most firm foundation. And its testimony is efficaciously supported by a power from on high. For our most merciful Lord gives His grace to stir up and to aid those who are astray, that they may come to a knowledge of the truth; and to those whom He has brought out of darkness into His own admirable light He gives His grace to strengthen them to persevere in that light, deserting none who desert not Him. Therefore there is no parity between the condition of those who have adhered to the Catholic truth by the heavenly gift of faith, and of those who, led by human opinions, follow a false religion; for those who have received the faith under the magisterium of the Church can never have any just cause for changing or doubting that faith. Therefore, giving thanks to God the Father who has made us worthy to be partakers of the lot of the Saints in light, let us not neglect so great salvation, but with our eyes fixed on Jesus, the author and finisher of our Faith, let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering. (Hebr. xii. 2, and x. 23.)

CHAPTER IV.

OF FAITH AND REASON.

The Catholic Church, with one consent has also ever held and does hold that there is a twofold order of knowledge, distinct both in principle and also in object; in principle, because our knowledge in the one is by natural reason, and in the other by divine faith; in object, because, besides those things to which natural reason can attain, there are proposed to our belief mysteries hidden in God, which, unless divinely revealed, cannot be known. Wherefore the Apostle, who testifies that God is known by the gentiles through created things, still, when discoursing of the grace and truth which come by Jesus Christ (John i. 17) says: 'We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew . . . but to us God hath revealed them by His Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God' (1 Cor. ii. 7-9). And the only-begotten Son himself gives thanks to the Father, because He has hid these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them to little ones (Matt. xi. 25).

Reason, indeed, enlightened by faith, when it seeks earnestly, piously, and calmly, attains by a gift from God some, and that a very fruitful, understanding of mysteries; partly from the analogy of those things which it naturally knows, partly from the relations which the mysteries bear to one another and to the last end of man; but reason never becomes capable of apprehending mysteries as it does those truths which constitute its proper object. For the divine mysteries by their own nature so far transcend the created intelligence that, even when delivered by revelation and received by faith, they remain covered with the veil of faith itself, and shrouded in a certain degree of darkness, so long as we are pilgrims in this mortal life, not yet with God; 'for we walk by faith and not by sight' (2 Cor. v. 7).

But although faith is above reason, there can never be any real discrepancy between faith and reason, since the same God who reveals mysteries and infuses faith has bestowed the light of reason on the human mind, and God cannot deny Himself, nor can truth ever contradict truth. The false appearance of such a contradiction is mainly due, either to the dogmas of faith not having been understood and expounded according to the mind of the Church, or to the inventions of opinion having been taken for

the verdicts of reason. We define, therefore, that every assertion contrary to a truth of enlightened faith is utterly false.* Further, the Church, which, together with the Apostolic office of teaching, has received a charge to guard the deposit of faith, derives from God the right and the duty of proscribing false science, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain fallacy (Coloss. ii. 8). Therefore all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend, as legitimate conclusions of science, such opinions as are known to be contrary to the doctrines of faith, especially if they have been condemned by the Church, but are altogether bound to account them as errors which put on the fallacious appearance of truth.

And not only can faith and reason never be opposed to one another, but they are of mutual aid one to the other; for right reason demonstrates the foundations of faith, and, enlightened by its light, cultivates the science of things divine; while faith frees and guards reason from errors, and furnishes it with manifold knowledge. So far, therefore, is the Church from opposing the cultivation of human arts and sciences, that it in many ways helps and promotes it. For the Church neither ignores nor despises the benefits to human life which result from the arts and sciences, but confesses that, as they came from God, the Lord of all science, so, if they be rightly used, they lead to God by the help of His grace. Nor does the Church forbid that each of these sciences in its sphere should make use of its own principles and its own method; but, while recognising this just liberty, it stands watchfully on guard, lest sciences, setting themselves against the divine teaching, or transgressing their own limits, should invade and disturb the domain of faith.

For the doctrine of faith which God hath revealed has not been proposed, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human ingenuity, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence also, that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared; nor is that meaning ever to be departed from, under the pretence or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them. Let, then, the intelligence, science, and wisdom of each and all, of individuals and of the whole Church, in all ages and all times, increase and

* From the Bull of Pope Leo X., *Apostolici regiminis*, read in the VIII. Session of the Fifth Lateran Council, A.D. 1513. See Labbe's Councils, vol. xix. p. 842, Venice, 1732

flourish in abundance and vigour; but simply in its own proper kind, that is to say, in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, one and the same judgment (Vincent. of Lerins, *Common. n. 28*).

CANONS.

I.

Of God, the Creator of all things.

1. If any one shall deny One true God, Creator and Lord of things visible and invisible; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall not be ashamed to affirm that, except matter, nothing exists; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that the substance and essence of God and of all things is one and the same; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the divine substance; or that the divine essence by the manifestation and evolution of itself becomes all things; or, lastly, that God is universal or indefinite being, which by determining itself constitutes the universality of things, distinct according to genera, species and individuals; let him be anathema.

5. If any one confess not that the world, and all things which are contained in it, both spiritual and material, have been, in their whole substance, produced by God out of nothing; or shall say that God created, not by His will, free from all necessity, but by a necessity equal to the necessity whereby He loves Himself; or shall deny that the world was made for the glory of God; let him be anathema.

II.

Of Revelation.

1. If any one shall say that the One true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be certainly known by the natural light of human reason through created things; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that it is impossible or inexpedient that man should be taught, by divine revelation, concerning God and the worship to be paid to Him; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that man cannot be raised by divine power to a higher than natural knowledge and perfection, but can and ought, by a continuous progress, to arrive at length, of himself, to the possession of all that is true and good; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall not receive as sacred and canonical the Books of Holy Scripture, entire with all their parts, as the Holy Synod of Trent has enumerated them, or shall deny that they have been divinely inspired; let him be anathema.

III.

Of Faith.

1. If any one shall say that human reason is so independent that faith cannot be enjoined upon it by God; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that divine faith is not distinguished from natural knowledge of God and of moral truths, and therefore that it is not requisite for divine faith that revealed truth be believed because of the authority of God, Who reveals it; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that divine revelation cannot be made credible by outward signs, and therefore that men ought to be moved to faith solely by the internal experience of each, or by private inspiration; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall say that miracles are impossible, and therefore that all the accounts regarding them, even those contained in Holy Scripture, are to be dismissed as fabulous or mythical; or that miracles can never be known with certainty, and that the divine origin of Christianity cannot be proved by them; let him be anathema.

5. If any one shall say that the assent of Christian faith is not a free act, but inevitably produced by the arguments of human reason; or that the grace of God is necessary for that living faith only which worketh by charity; let him be anathema.

6. If any one shall say that the condition of the faithful, and of those who have not yet attained to the only true faith, is on a par, so that Catholics may have just cause for doubting, with suspended assent, the faith which they have already received under the magisterium of the Church, until they shall have obtained a scientific demonstration of the credibility and truth of their faith; let him be anathema.

IV.

Of Faith and Reason.

1. If any one shall say that in divine revelation there are no mysteries, truly and properly so called, but that all the doctrines of faith can be understood and demonstrated from natural principles, by properly cultivated reason; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that human sciences are to be so freely treated, that their assertions, although opposed to revealed doctrine, are to be held as true, and cannot be condemned by the Church; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall assert it to be possible that sometimes, according to the progress of science, a sense is to be given to doctrines propounded by the Church different from that which the Church has understood and understands; let him be anathema.

Therefore We, fulfilling the duty of our supreme pastoral office, entreat, by the mercies of Jesus Christ, and, by the authority of the same our God and Saviour, We command, all the faithful of Christ, and especially those who are set over others, or are charged with the office of instruction, that they earnestly and diligently apply themselves to ward off, and eliminate, these errors from Holy Church, and to spread the light of pure faith.

And since it is not sufficient to shun heretical pravity, unless those errors also be diligently avoided which more or less nearly approach it, We admonish all men of the further duty of observing those constitutions and decrees by which such erroneous opinions as are not here specifically enumerated, have been proscribed and condemned by this Holy See.

Given at Rome in public Session solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the twenty-fourth day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of our Pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of S. Polten,*
Secretary of the Vatican Council.

TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTIONS.

CONSTITVTIO DOGMATICA PRIMA DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI.

PIVS EPISCOPVS SERVVS SERVORVM DEI SACRO
APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETVAM
REI MEMORIAM.

PASTOR aeternus et episcopus animarum nostrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam aedificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua veluti in domo Dei viventis fideles omnes unius fidei et charitatis vinculo continerentur. Quapropter, priusquam clarificaretur, rogavit Patrem non pro Apostolis tantum, sed et pro eis, qui credituri erant per verbum eorum in ipsum, ut omnes unum essent, sicut ipse Filius et Pater unum sunt. Quemadmodum igitur Apostolos, quos sibi de mundo elegerat, misit sicut ipse missus erat a Patre: ita in Ecclesia sua Pastores et Doctores usque ad consummationem saeculi esse voluit. Ut vero episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per cohaerentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum Petrum caeteris Apostolis praeponens in ipso instituit perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum, super cuius fortitudinem aeternum exstrueretur templum, et Ecclesiae coelo inferenda sublimitas in huius fidei firmitate consurgeret.* Et quoniam portae inferi ad evertendam, si fieri posset, Ecclesiam contra eius fundamentum divinitus positum maiori in dies odio undique insurgunt; Nos ad catholici gregis custodiam, incolumitatem, augmentum, necessarium esse iudicamus, sacro approbante Concilio, doctrinam de institutione, perpetuitate, ac natura sacri Apostolici primatus, in quo totius Ecclesiae vis ac soliditas consistit, cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam, secundum antiquam atque constantem universalis Ecclesiae fidem, proponere, atque contrarios, dominico gregi adeo perniciosos errores proscribere et condemnare.

* S. Leo M. Serm. iv. (al. iii.) cap. 2, in diem Natalis sui.

CAPUT I.

DE APOSTOLICI PRIMATUS IN BEATO PETRO INSTITUTIONE.

Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia, primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse. Unum enim Simonem, cui iam pridem dixerat: Tu vocaberis Cephass,* postquam ille suam edidit confessionem inquit: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, solemnibus his verbis allocutus est Dominus: Beatus es Simon Bar-Iona: quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui in coelis est: et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum: et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis.† Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Iesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris iurisdictionem in totum suum ovile, dicens: Pasce agnos meos: Pasce oves meas.‡ Huic tam manifestae sacrarum Scripturarum doctrinae, ut ab Ecclesia catholica semper intellecta est, aperte opponuntur pravae eorum sententiae, qui constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam pervertentes negant, solum Petrum prae caeteris Apostolis, sive seorsum singulis sive omnibus simul, vero proprioque iurisdictionis primatu fuisse a Christo instructum; aut qui affirmant, eundem primatum non immediate, directeque ipsi beato Petro, sed Ecclesiae, et per hanc illi ut ipsius Ecclesiae ministro delatum fuisse.

Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput; vel eundem honoris tantum, non autem verae propriaeque iurisdictionis primatum ab eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse; anathema sit.

* Ioan. i. 42.

† Matth. xvi. 16-19.

‡ Ioan. xxi. 15-17.

CAPUT II.

DE PERPETUITATE PRIMATUS BEATI PETRI IN ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS.

Quod autem in beato Apostolo Petro princeps pastorum et pastor magnus ovium Dominus Christus Iesus in perpetuam salutem ac perenne bonum Ecclesiae instituit, id eodem auctore in Ecclesiae, quae fundata super petram ad finem saeculorum usque firma stabit, iugiter durare necesse est. Nulli sane dubium, imo saeculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fideique columna et Ecclesiae catholicae fundamentum, a Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit: qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, episcopis sanctae Romanae Sedis, ab ipso fundatae, eiusque consecratae sanguine, vivet et praesidet et iudicium exercet.* Unde quicumque in hac cathedra Petro succedit, is secundum Christi ipsius institutionem primatum Petri in universam Ecclesiam obtinet. Manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et beatus Petrus in accepta fortitudine petraea perseverans suscepta Ecclesiae gubernacula non reliquit.† Hac de causa ad Romanam Ecclesiam propter potentiores principalitatem necesse semper fuit omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, ut in ea Sede, e qua venerandae communionis iura in omnes dimanant, tamquam membra in capite consociata, in unam corporis compagem coalescerent.‡

Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu iure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores; aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem; anathema sit.

CAPUT III.

DE VI ET RATIONE PRIMATUS ROMANI PONTIFICIS.

Quapropter apertis innixi sacrarum litterarum testimoniis, et inhaerentes tum Praedecessorum Nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum, tum Conciliorum generalium disertis, perspicuisque decretis,

* Cf. Ephesini Concilii Act. iii.

† S. Leo M. Serm. iii. (al. ii.) cap. 3.

‡ S. Iren. Adv. Haer. l. iii. c. 3, et Conc. Aquilei. a. 381. inter epp. S. Ambros. ep. xi.

innovamus oecumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem, qua credendum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus est, sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis oecumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur.

Docemus proinde et declaramus, Ecclesiam Romanam disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis iurisdictionis potestatem, quae vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse: erga quam cuiuscumque ritus et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicae subordinationis, veraeque obedientiae obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; ita ut custodita cum Romano Pontifice tam communionis, quam eiusdem fidei professionis unitate, Ecclesia Christi sit unus grex sub uno summo pastore. Haec est catholicae veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare salva fide atque salute nemo potest.

Tantum autem abest, ut haec Summi Pontificis potestas officiat ordinariae ac immediatae illi episcopalis iurisdictionis potestati, qua Episcopi, qui positi a Spiritu Sancto in Apostolorum locum successerunt, tamquam veri pastores assignatos sibi greges, singuli singulos, pascunt et regunt, ut eadem a supremo et universali Pastore asseratur, roboretur ac vindicetur, secundum illud sancti Gregorii Magni: *Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiae. Meus honor est fratrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur.**

Porro ex suprema illa Romani Pontificis potestate gubernandi universam Ecclesiam ius eidem esse consequitur, in huius sui muneris exercitio libere communicandi cum pastoribus et gregibus totius Ecclesiae, ut iidem ab ipso in via salutis doceri ac regi possint. Quare damnamus ac reprobamus illorum sententias, qui hanc supremi capitis cum pastoribus et gregibus communicationem licite impediri posse dicunt, aut eandem reddunt saeculari potestati obnoxiam, ita ut contendant, quae ab Apostolica Sede vel eius

* Ep. ad. Eulog. Alexandrin. l. viii. ep. xxx.

auctoritate ad regimen Ecclesiae constituuntur, vim ac valorem non habere, nisi potestatis saecularis placito confirmentur.

Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus iure Romanus Pontifex universae Ecclesiae praeest, docemus etiam et declaramus, eum esse iudicem supremum fidelium,* et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse iudicium recurri;† Sedis vero Apostolicae, cuius auctoritate maior non est, iudicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam de eius licere iudicare iudicio.‡ Quare a recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab iudiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad Oecumenicum Concilium tamquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.

Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem iurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis; aut hanc eius potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles; anathema sit.

CAPUT IV.

DE ROMANI PONTIFICIS INFALLIBILI MAGISTERIO.

Ipsa autem Apostolico primatu, quem Romanus Pontifex tamquam Petri principis Apostolorum successor in universam Ecclesiam obtinet, supremam quoque magisterii potestatem comprehendit, haec Sancta Sedes semper tenuit, perpetuus Ecclesiae usus comprobatur, ipsaque oecumenica Concilia, ea imprimis, in quibus Oriens cum Occidente in fidei charitatisque unionem conveniebat, declaraverunt. Patres enim Concilii Constantinopolitani quarti, maiorum vestigiis inhaerentes, hanc solemnem ediderunt professionem: Prima salus est, rectae fidei regulam custodire. Et quia non potest Domini nostri Iesu Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, haec, quae dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus, quia in

* Pii PP. VI. Breve, Super soliditate. d. 28 Nov. 1786.

† Concil. Oecum. Lugdun. II.

‡ Ep. Nicolai I. ad Michaellem Imperatorem.

Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservata religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina. Ab huius ergo fide et doctrina separari minime cupientes, speramus, ut in una communione, quam Sedes Apostolica praedicat, esse mereamur, in qua est integra et vera Christianae religionis soliditas.* Approbante verò Lugdunensi Concilio secundo, Graeci professi sunt: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam Ecclesiam catholicam obtinere, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro Apostolorum principe sive vertice, cuius Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit; et sicut prae caeteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et, si quae de fide subortae fuerint quaestiones, suo debent iudicio definiri. Florentinum denique Concilium definivit: Pontificem Romanum, verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.

Huic pastorali muneri ut satisfacerent, Praedecessores Nostri indefessam semper operam dederunt, ut salutaris Christi doctrina apud omnes terrae populus propagaretur, parique cura vigilarunt, ut, ubi recepta esset, sincera et pura conservaretur. Quocirca totius orbis Antistites nunc singuli, nunc in Synodis congregati, longam ecclesiarum consuetudinem et antiquae regulae formam sequentes, ea praesertim pericula, quae in negotiis fidei emergebant, ad hanc Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt, ut ibi potissimum resarcirentur damna fidei, ubi fides non potest sentire defectum.† Romani autem Pontifices, prout temporum et rerum conditio suadebat, nunc convocatis oecumenicis Conciliis aut explorata Ecclesiae per orbem dispersae sententia, nunc per Synodos particulares, nunc aliis, quae divina suppeditabat providentia, adhibitis auxiliis, ea tenenda definiverunt, quae sacris Scripturis et apostolicis Traditionibus consentanea Deo adiutore cognoverant. Neque enim Petri successoribus Spiritus Sanctus promissus est, ut eo revelante novam doctrinam patefacere, sed ut eo assistente traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent. Quorum quidem apostolicam doctrinam omnes venerabiles Patres amplexi et sancti Doctores orthodoxi venerati atque secuti sunt; plenissime scientes, hanc

* Ex formula S. Hormisdæ Papae, prout ab Hadriano II. Patribus Concilii Oecumenici VIII., Constantinopolitani IV., proposita et ab iisdem subscripta est.

† Cf. S. Bern. Epist. exc.

sancti Petri Sedem ab omni semper errore illibatam permanere, secundum Domini Salvatoris nostri divinam pollicitationem discipulorum suorum principi factam: Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.

Hoc igitur veritatis et fidei numquam deficientis charisma Petro eiusque in hac Cathedra successoribus divinitus collatum est, ut excelso suo munere in omnium salutem fungerentur, ut universus Christi grex per eos ab erroris venenosa esca aversus, coelestis doctrinae pabulo nutriretur, ut sublata schismatis occasione Ecclesia tota una conservaretur, atque suo fundamento innixa firma adversus inferi portas consisteret.

Atvero cum hac ipsa aetate, qua salutifera Apostolici muneris efficacia vel maxime requiritur, non pauci inveniantur, qui illius auctoritati obtrectant; necessarium omnino esse censemus, praerogativam, quam unigenitus Dei Filius cum summo pastoralis officio coniungere dignatus est, solemniter asserere.

Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianae exordio perceptae fideliter inhaerendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicae exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit; ideoque eiusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae irreformabiles esse.

Si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit; anathema sit.

Datum Romae, in publica Sessione in Vaticana Basilica solemniter celebrata anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die decima octava Iulii.

Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quinto.

Ita est.

JOSEPHUS, *Episcopus S. Ippolyti,*
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.

TRANSLATION.

FIRST DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE CHURCH
OF CHRIST.

PUBLISHED IN THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE HOLY ŒCUMENICAL
COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN.

PIUS BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE
APPROVAL OF THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR AN EVERLAST-
ING REMEMBRANCE.

THE Eternal Pastor and Bishop of our souls, in order to continue for all time the life-giving work of His Redemption, determined to build up the Holy Church, wherein, as in the House of the living God, all who believe might be united in the bond of one faith and one charity. Wherefore, before He entered into His glory, He prayed unto the Father, not for the Apostles only, but for those also who through their preaching should come to believe in Him, that all might be one even as He the Son and the Father are one.* As then He sent the Apostles whom He had chosen to Himself from the world, as He Himself had been sent by the Father: so He willed that there should ever be pastors and teachers in His Church to the end of the world. And in order that the Episcopate also might be one and undivided, and that by means of a closely united priesthood the multitude of the faithful might be kept secure in the oneness of faith and communion, He set Blessed Peter over the rest of the Apostles, and fixed in him the abiding principle of this two-fold unity, and its visible foundation, in the strength of which the everlasting temple should arise and the Church in the firmness of that faith should lift her majestic front to Heaven.† And seeing that the gates of hell with daily increase of hatred are gathering their strength on every side to upheave the foundation laid by God's own hand, and so, if that might be, to overthrow the Church: We, therefore, for the preservation, safe-keeping, and increase of the Catholic flock, with the approval of the Sacred Council, do judge it to be necessary to propose to the

* St. John xvii. 21.

† From Sermon iv. chap. ii. of St. Leo the Great, A.D. 440, vol. i. p. 17 of edition of Ballerini, Venice, 1753: read in the eighth lection on the Feast of St. Peter's Chair at Antioch, February 22.

belief and acceptance of all the faithful, in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal Church, the doctrine touching the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred Apostolic Primacy, in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire Church, and at the same time to proscribe and condemn the contrary errors, so hurtful to the flock of Christ.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC PRIMACY IN BLESSED PETER.

We therefore teach and declare that, according to the testimony of the Gospel, the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church of God was immediately and directly promised and given to Blessed Peter the Apostle by Christ the Lord. For it was to Simon alone, to whom He had already said: Thou shalt be called Cephas,* that the Lord after the confession made by him, saying: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, addressed these solemn words: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood have not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in Heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.† And it was upon Simon alone that Jesus after His resurrection bestowed the jurisdiction of Chief Pastor and Ruler over all His fold in the words: Feed my lambs: feed my sheep.‡ At open variance with this clear doctrine of Holy Scripture as it has been ever understood by the Catholic Church are the perverse opinions of those who, while they distort the form of government established by Christ the Lord in His Church, deny that Peter in his single person, preferably to all the other Apostles, whether taken separately or together, was endowed by Christ with a true and proper primacy of jurisdiction; or of those who assert that the same primacy was not bestowed immediately and directly upon Blessed Peter himself, but upon the Church, and through the Church on Peter as her Minister.

* St. John i. 42.

† St. Matthew xvi. 16-19.

‡ St. John xxi. 15-17.

If anyone, therefore, shall say that Blessed Peter the Apostle was not appointed the Prince of all the Apostles and the visible Head of the whole Church Militant; or that the same directly and immediately received from the same Our Lord Jesus Christ a primacy of honour only, and not of true and proper jurisdiction; let him be anathema.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PERPETUITY OF THE PRIMACY OF BLESSED PETER IN THE ROMAN PONTIFFS.

That which the Prince of Shepherds and great Shepherd of the sheep, Jesus Christ our Lord, established in the person of the Blessed Apostle Peter to secure the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the Church, must, by the same institution, necessarily remain unceasingly in the Church; which, being founded upon the Rock, will stand firm to the end of the world. For none can doubt, and it is known to all ages, that the holy and Blessed Peter, the Prince and Chief of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, and lives, presides, and judges, to this day and always, in his successors the Bishops of the Holy See of Rome, which was founded by him, and consecrated by his blood.* Whence, whosoever succeeds to Peter in this See, does by the institution of Christ Himself obtain the Primacy of Peter over the whole Church. The disposition made by Incarnate Truth therefore remains, and Blessed Peter, abiding through the strength of the Rock in the power that he received, has not abandoned the direction of the Church.† Wherefore it has at all times been necessary that every particular Church—that is to say, the faithful throughout the world—should agree with the Roman Church, on account of the greater authority of the principedom which this has received; that all being associated in the unity of that See whence the rights of communion spread to

* From the Acts (session third) of the Third General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, Labbé's Councils, vol. iii. p. 1154, Venice edition of 1728. See also letter of St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches, in life prefixed to his works, p. 13, Venice, 1750.

† From Sermon iii. chap. iii. of St. Leo the Great, vol. i. p. 12.

all, might grow together as members of one Head in the compact unity of the body.*

If, then, any should deny that it is by the institution of Christ the Lord, or by divine right, that Blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the Primacy over the Universal Church, or that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter in this primacy; let him be anathema.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POWER AND NATURE OF THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Wherefore, resting on plain testimonies of the Sacred Writings, and adhering to the plain and express decrees both of our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, and of the General Councils, We renew the definition of the Ecumenical Council of Florence, in virtue of which all the faithful of Christ must believe that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possesses the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him in Blessed Peter to rule, feed, and govern the Universal Church by Jesus Christ our Lord: as is also contained in the acts of the General Councils and in the Sacred Canons.

Hence we teach and declare that by the appointment of our Lord the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other Churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound, by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world, so that the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor through the preservation of unity both of communion and of profession of the same faith with the

* From St. Irenaeus against Heresies, book iii. cap. iii. p. 175, Benedictine edition, Venice, 1734; and Acts of Synod of Aquileia, A.D. 381, Labbé's Councils, vol. ii. p. 1185, Venice, 1728.

Roman Pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation.

But so far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being any prejudice to the ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which Bishops, who have been set by the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles,* feed and govern, each his own flock, as true Pastors, that this their episcopal authority is really asserted, strengthened, and protected by the supreme and universal Pastor; in accordance with the words of St. Gregory the Great: my honour is the honour of the whole Church. My honour is the firm strength of my brethren. I am truly honoured, when the honour due to each and all is not withheld.†

Further, from this supreme power possessed by the Roman Pontiff of governing the Universal Church, it follows that he has the right of free communication with the Pastors of the whole Church, and with their flocks, that these may be taught and ruled by him in the way of salvation. Wherefore we condemn and reject the opinions of those who hold that the communication between this supreme Head and the Pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded; or who make this communication subject to the will of the secular power, so as to maintain that whatever is done by the Apostolic See, or by its authority, for the government of the Church, cannot have force or value unless it be confirmed by the assent of the secular power. And since by the divine right of Apostolic primacy, the Roman Pontiff is placed over the Universal Church, we further teach and declare that he is the supreme judge of the faithful,‡ and that in all causes, the decision of which belongs to the Church, recourse may be had to his tribunal,§ and that none may re-open the judgment of the Apostolic See, than whose authority there is no greater, nor can any lawfully review its judgment.|| Wherefore they err from the right course who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the judgments of the Roman Pontiffs to an Œcumenical

* From chap. iv. of xxiii. session of Council of Trent, 'Of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.'

† From the letters of St. Gregory the Great, book viii. 30, vol. ii. p. 919, Benedictine edition, Paris, 1705.

‡ From a Brief of Pius VI. *Super soliditate*, of November 28, 1786.

§ From the Acts of the Fourteenth General Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274. Labbé's Councils, vol. xiv. p. 512.

|| From Letter viii. of Pope Nicholas I., A.D. 858, to the Emperor Michael, in Labbé's Councils, vol. ix. pp. 1339 and 1570.

Council, as to an authority higher than that of the Roman Pontiff.

If then any shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the Universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world; or assert that he possesses merely the principal part, and not all the fullness of this supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, both over each and all the Churches and over each and all the Pastors and the faithful; let him be anathema.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE INFALLIBLE TEACHING OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the Apostolic primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, possesses over the whole Church, this Holy See has always held, the perpetual practice of the Church confirms, and Œcumenical Councils also have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. For the Fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, following in the footsteps of their predecessors, gave forth this solemn profession: The first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of the true faith. And because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who said: Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church,* these things which have been said are approved by events, because in the Apostolic See the Catholic Religion and her holy and well-known doctrine has always been kept undefiled. Desiring, therefore, not to be in the least degree separated from the faith and doctrine of that See, we hope that we may deserve to be in the one communion, which the Apostolic See preaches, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion.† And, with the approval of the Second Council of Lyons,

* St. Matthew xvi. 18.

† From the Formula of St. Hormisdas, subscribed by the Fathers of the Eighth General Council (Fourth of Constantinople), A.D. 869. Labbé's Councils, vol. v. pp. 583, 622.

the Greeks professed that the Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full Primacy and preeminence over the whole Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges that it has received with the plenitude of power from our Lord Himself in the person of blessed Peter, Prince or Head of the Apostles, whose successor the Roman Pontiff is; and as the Apostolic See is bound before all others to defend the truth of faith, so also if any questions regarding faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgment.* Finally, the Council of Florence defined: † That the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him in blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church.‡

To satisfy this pastoral duty our predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrine of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved genuine and pure where it had been received. Therefore the Bishops of the whole world, now singly, now assembled in synod, following the long-established custom of Churches,§ and the form of the ancient rule,|| sent word to this Apostolic See of those dangers especially which sprang up in matters of faith, that there the losses of faith might be most effectually repaired where the faith cannot fail.¶ And the Roman Pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or asking for the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which Divine Providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognised as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by His revelation they might make known new

* From the Acts of the Fourteenth General Council (Second of Lyons), A.D. 1274. Labbé, vol. xiv. p. 512.

† From the Acts of the Seventeenth General Council of Florence, A.D. 1438. Labbé, vol. xviii. p. 526.

‡ John xxi. 15-17.

§ From a letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Pope St. Celestine I. A.D. 422, vol. vi. part ii. p. 36, Paris edition of 1638.

|| From a Rescript of St. Innocent I. to the Council of Milevis, A.D. 402. Labbé, vol. iii. p. 47.

¶ From a letter of St. Bernard to Pope Innocent II. A.D. 1130. Epist. 191, vol. iv. p. 433, Paris edition of 1742.

doctrine, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles. And indeed all the venerable Fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed their Apostolic doctrine; knowing most fully that this See of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error according to the divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the Prince of His disciples: I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.*

This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith was conferred by Heaven upon Peter and his successors in this Chair, that they might perform their high office for the salvation of all; that the whole flock of Christ kept away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the pasture of heavenly doctrine; that the occasion of schism being removed the whole Church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.

But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the Apostolic office is most of all required, not a few are found who take away from its authority, we judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office.

Therefore faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God Our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the Sacred Council approving, We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals: and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable† of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.

* St. Luke xxii. 32. See also the Acts of the Sixth General Council, A.D. 680. Labbé, vol. vii. p. 659.

† *i.e.* in the words used by Pope Nicholas I. note 13, and in the Synod of Quedlinburg, A.D. 1085, 'it is allowed to none to revise its judgment, and to sit in judgment upon what it has judged.' Labbé, vol. xii. p. 679.

But if anyone—which may God avert—presume to contradict this Our definition ; let him be anathema.

Given at Rome in Public Session solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the eighteenth day of July, in the twenty-fifth year of our Pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of S. Polten,*
Secretary to the Vatican Council.

V.

*RULES LAID DOWN BY THEOLOGIANs FOR
DOCTRINAL DEFINITIONS.*

Question.—What are the characters and marks whereby we may know whether a proposition can be submitted to the authoritative judgment of the Catholic magisterium, or in other words, whether a proposition be definable as *de fide*?

Answer.—In the answer distinction was made between that which was sufficient in order to come to a definition, and that which was not necessary for that purpose.

With respect to that which was not necessary, the following four points were established unanimously.

1. It is not necessary, that antecedently there should not have been a variety of opinions in the Catholic Church, and that all should have agreed in that which is to be defined.

This is manifest from the ancient controversy long ago decided on re-baptism, although many bishops held the opposite opinion. This is also confirmed by the practice of the church, which many times has permitted the profession of opposite opinions, provided there has been a willingness to submit to any decision that might be made. This practice supposes that points may be defined, about which Catholics have been permitted to think and dispute freely.

2. It is not necessary that no writers of authority should be cited for an opinion contrary to that which is to be defined. This is manifest from the history of the dogmas successively defined; and in this place it will be sufficient to observe, that the Council of Trent (sess. vi. can. 23) did not hesitate to affirm as the faith of the church, that the most Holy Virgin Mother of God had never committed any even venial sin, although it is certain that grave doctors and Fathers wrote otherwise.

3. It is not necessary to cite texts, either implicit or explicit, from Holy Scripture, since it is manifest that the extent of

revelation is greater than that of Holy Scripture. Thus, it has been defined, for example, that even infants may and ought to be baptized, that Christ our Lord is wholly contained and received under one species of the most Holy Eucharist, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle, although theologians do not produce texts either implicit or explicit from Scripture in which such dogmas are taught.

4. Lastly, it is not necessary to have a series of fathers and testimonies reaching to apostolic times, in order to prove that such a proposition belongs to apostolic tradition. With respect to this, it was observed, that the assertion of such a necessity rests upon false hypotheses, and is refuted by the most palpable facts.

The false hypotheses are,

a. That all doctrine preached from the beginning has been committed to writing by the fathers.

b. That all the monuments of antiquity have come down to us.

c. That the entire object of faith has always been distinctly conceived and formally expressed ;

d. That subsequent tradition may differ from the preceding ;

e. That it cannot be legitimately concluded from the fact that a doctrine is held in any age, that the same doctrine was never denied by the majority, and that it was at least implicitly believed by the greater number.

The facts that refute such a necessity are manifold, but it suffices to mention the definition of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, of the Lateran Synod under Martin I. or the dogmatical letters of St. Leo and St. Agatho, in which appeal is made to the faith of the fathers and to tradition, and where there appears to be no anxiety to produce testimonies of the first three centuries, on the contrary, authors are quoted, who in those times were of recent date.

Having thus laid down by common agreement that which was not necessary, they passed on to discuss what was sufficient in order that an opinion should be defined as an article of faith.

The five following characters were proposed and decided upon as being sufficient.

I. A certain number of grave testimonies containing the controverted proposition.

This after thorough discussion was unanimously acknowledged to be a sufficient character, and it was said that to deny it would be going against the councils, the dogmatic bulls of pontiffs, and the economy of the church itself. Thus with a certain number

of such testimonies referred to in the acts of the councils, it is easily seen how the fathers proceeded to a definition at Ephesus against Nestorius, in the sixth council against the Monothelites, and in the seventh against the Iconoclasts.

II. One or more revealed principles in which is contained the proposition in question.

Upon this also the consultors were unanimous, and they moreover said that the production of such principles would be equivalent to a virtual and immediate revelation. Thus, from the revealed principle that Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man, it follows as revealed that Jesus Christ has two wills: also, in the revealed principle that God is One and the Divine Persons three, and that all in God is one except where the relation of origin intervenes, it is also revealed that the Holy Ghost can only proceed from the Father and the Son as from one principle of spiration.

III. The intimate nexus of the dogmas, or, what is the same thing, that a proposition must be believed to be revealed, from the denial of which the falsity of one or more articles of faith would necessarily and immediately follow.

The consultors were unanimous on this point, agreeing that such a character was equivalent to a virtual and immediate revelation. Thus, when it is established that some sins are mortal, and that not every sin is incompatible with a state of grace, it necessarily follows that the distinction between mortal and venial sins is a revealed doctrine. So also from the fact that the Sacraments produce their effect *ex opere operato* and that Jesus Christ is the primary minister of them, it follows as virtually and immediately revealed, that the effect of the Sacraments does not depend upon the virtue or malice of the secondary minister.

IV. The concordant testimony of the existing episcopate.

The consultors with regard to this were again unanimous, and it was said that to deny the sufficiency of this character was to contradict the promises of our Lord, and the constant practice of the fathers in proving the articles of faith. Thus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Augustine, and Fulgentius, in order to put an end to controversies, considered it sufficient to ascertain the faith of the Sees and more especially of the chief ones.

V. The practice of the Church.

That this point would afford sufficient evidence to proceed to a definition, was likewise unanimously affirmed by the consultors.

VI.

THE CASE OF HONORIUS.

I HAVE intentionally refrained from treating the historical evidence in the case of Honorius in the text of the fourth chapter, for the following reasons:

1. Because it is sufficient to the argument of that chapter to affirm that the case of Honorius is doubtful. It is in vain for the antagonists of Papal Infallibility to quote this case as if it were certain. Centuries of controversy have established, beyond contradiction, that the accusation against Honorius cannot be raised by his most ardent antagonists to more than a probability. And this probability, at its maximum, is less than that of his defence. I therefore affirm the question to be doubtful; which is abundantly sufficient against the private judgment of his accusers. The cumulus of evidence for the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff outweighs all such doubts.

2. Because the argument of the fourth chapter necessarily excludes all discussion of detailed facts. Had they been introduced into the text, our antagonists would have evaded the point, and confused the argument by a discussion of details. I will, nevertheless, here affirm, that the following points in the case of Honorius can be abundantly proved from documents:

(1) That Honorius defined no doctrine whatsoever. (2) That he forbade the making of any new definition. (3) That his fault was precisely in this omission of Apostolic authority, for which he was justly censured. (4) That his two epistles are entirely orthodox; though, in the use of language, he wrote as was usual before the condemnation of Monothelitism, and not as it became necessary afterwards. It is an anachronism and an injustice to censure his language, used before that condemnation, as it might be just to censure it after the condemnation had been made.

To this I add the following excellent passage from the recent Pastoral of the Archbishop of Baltimore:

'The case of Honorius forms no exception; for 1st, Honorius expressly says in his letters to Sergius, that he meant to define nothing, and he was condemned precisely because he temporized and would not define; 2nd, because in his letters he clearly taught the sound Catholic doctrine, only enjoining silence as to the use of certain terms, then new in the Church; and 3rd, because his letters were not addressed to a general council of the whole Church, and were rather private, than public and official; at least they were not published, even in the East, until several years later. The first letter was written to Sergius in 633, and eight years afterwards, in 641, the Emperor Heraclius, in exculpating himself to Pope John II., Honorius' successor, for having published his edict—the *Ecthesis*—which enjoined silence on the disputants, similar to that imposed by Honorius, lays the whole responsibility thereof on Sergius, who, he declares, composed the edict. Evidently, Sergius had not communicated the letter to the Emperor, probably because its contents, if published, would not have suited his wily purpose of secretly introducing, under another form, the Eutychian heresy. Thus falls to the ground the only case upon which the opponents of Infallibility have continued to insist. This entire subject has been exhausted by many recent learned writers.'

On the question of Vigilus, see Cardinal Orsi *De irreformabili Rom. Pont. in definiendis fidei controversiis judicio*, tom. i. p. i. capp. 19, 20; Jeremias a Benetti's *Privileg. S. Petri vindic.* p. ii. tom. v. art. 12, p. 397, ed. Roman. 1759; Ballerini *De vi et ratione primatus*, cap. 15; Lud. Thomassin, *Disp. vii. in Concil.*; Petr. De Marca *Diss. de Vigilio*; Vincenzi in S. Gregorii Nyss. et Origenis scripta cum App. de actis Synodi V. tom. iv. and v.

On the question of Honorius, amongst older writers: Ios. Biner S. J. in *Apparatu eruditionis*, p. iii. iv. and xi.; Orsi, op. cit. capp. 21–28; Bellarm. *De Rom. Pontif.* liv. iv.; Thomassin, op. cit. diss. xx.; Natalis Alex. *Hist. Eccles. Saec. VII.* diss. 2.; Zaccaria *Antifebrom.* p. ii. lib. iv. Amongst later authors, see *Civiltà cattolica*, ann. 1864, ser. v. vol. xi. and xii.; Schneeman, *Studia in qu. de Honorio*; Ios. Pennachi *de Honorii I. Romani Pontificis causa in Concilio VI.*

VII.

*PASTORAL OF THE GERMAN BISHOPS
ASSEMBLED AT FULDA.*

‘THE undersigned Bishops to the reverend clergy and faithful, greeting, and peace in the Lord.

‘Having returned to our respective Dioceses from the Holy Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, we, in union with other German Bishops who were prevented attending the Council, consider it our duty as your chief pastors to address to you, dearly beloved in the Lord, a few words of instruction and exhortation. The occasion and reason for our doing so, and that unitedly and solemnly, is found in the fact that many erroneous ideas have for several months been disseminated, and still, without any authority, are striving in many places to gain acceptance.

‘In order, then, to maintain the divine truths which Christ our Lord hath taught mankind in their entire purity, and to secure them from all change and distortion, He has established in His Holy Church the office of infallible teaching, and has promised and also given to it His protection and the assistance of the Holy Ghost for all times. On this office of infallible teaching of the Church reposes entire the security and joy of our faith.

‘As often as in the course of time misunderstandings of, or oppositions to, individual points of teaching have sprung up, this office of infallible teaching has in various ways, at one time in greater Councils, at another without them, both exposed and foiled the errors, and declared and established the truth. This has been done in the most solemn manner by the General Councils, that is, by those great assemblies in which the Head and the members of the one teaching body of the Church combined for the deciding of the doubts and controversies in matters of faith which then prevailed.

‘These decisions, according to the unanimous and undoubted tradition of the Church, have always been held to be preserved from error by a supernatural and divine assistance. Hence the

faithful in all times have submitted themselves to these decisions as to the infallible expressions of the Holy Ghost Himself, and, with undoubting faith, have held them to be true. They have done so, not, as persons might suppose, because the Bishops were men of mature and extended experience, not because many of them were versed in all sciences, not because they had come together from all parts of the world, and therefore, in a certain sense, brought together the human knowledge of the whole earth; not, lastly, because through a long life they had studied and taught the Word of God, and hence were trustworthy witnesses of its meaning. All this indeed gives to their declarations a very high, indeed perhaps the highest possible, degree of mere human trustworthiness. Still this is not a sufficient ground on which to rest supernatural faith. For this act, in its last resort, rests not on the testimony of men, even when they are most worthy of confidence, and even if the whole human race by the voice of its best and most noble representatives should bear witness to it; but such an act always rests wholly and alone on the truth of God Himself. When therefore the children of the Church receive with faith the decrees of a General Council, they do it with a conviction that God the Eternal and alone of Himself Infallible Truth co-operates with it in a supernatural manner, and preserves it from error.

‘Such a General Council is the present one which our Holy Father Pius IX., as you know, convoked in Rome, and to which the successors of the Apostles, in larger numbers than ever before, have hastened from all parts of the world, that they might, with the successor of St. Peter and under his guidance, consult for the present urgent interests of the Church. After many and serious debates the Holy Father, in virtue of his Apostolical authority as teacher, on April 24 and July 18 of this year, with the consent of the holy Council, solemnly published several decrees relating to the true doctrine about faith, the Church, and its supreme head.

‘By this means, then, the infallible teaching authority of the Church has decreed, and the Holy Ghost by the vicar of Christ and the Episcopate united with him has spoken: and therefore all, whether Bishops, priests or laymen, are bound to receive their decrees as divinely revealed truths, and with joyful hearts lay hold of them and confess the same, if they wish to be and remain true members of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. When, then, beloved in the Lord, objections are raised, and you hear it maintained that the Vatican Council is no true General

Council, and that its decisions are of no authority, do not allow yourselves to be led astray thereby, so as to falter in your devotion to the Church and in your belief and acceptance of its decrees; for such objections are wholly unfounded.

‘Bound together in the unity of faith and love with the Pope, have the assembled Bishops, both those who in Christian lands administer well-established sees, and also those who are called to extend the Kingdom of God among the heathen in apostolic poverty, Bishops, whether they tend a larger or a smaller flock—these, as legitimate successors of the Apostles, have all with the same right taken part in the Council and maturely considered everything.

‘As long as the discussions lasted, the Bishops, as their consciences demanded, and as became their office, expressed their views plainly and openly, and with all necessary freedom; and, as was only to be expected in an assembly of nearly 800 Fathers, many differences of opinion were manifested. These differences of opinion can in no way affect the authority of the decrees themselves; should even we not take into consideration the fact, that almost the entire body of the Bishops who, at the time of the Public Session, still maintained an opposite opinion, abstained in the said Session from expressing dissent.

‘However, to maintain that either the one or the other of the doctrines decided by the General Council are not contained in the Holy Scripture, and in tradition of the Church—those two sources of the Catholic faith—or that they are even in opposition to the same, is a first step, irreconcilable with the primary principles of the Catholic Church, which leads to separation from her communion. Wherefore, we hereby declare that the present Vatican Council is a legitimate General Council; and, moreover, that this Council as little as any other General Council, has propounded or formed a new doctrine at variance with the ancient teaching; but that it has simply developed and thrown light upon the old and faithfully-preserved truth contained in the deposit of faith, and in opposition to the errors of the day has proposed it expressly to the belief of all the faithful; and, lastly, that these decrees have received a binding power on all the faithful by the fact of their final publication by the Supreme Head of the Church in solemn form at the Public Session.

‘While, then, we ourselves with full and unhesitating faith adhere to the decrees of the Council, we exhort you as your divinely appointed pastors and teachers, and beseech you in love to your souls, to give no ear to any teaching contrary to this,

whencesoever it may come. Cling all the more unwaveringly, in union so with your Bishops, to the teaching and faith of the Catholic Church; let nothing separate you from the Rock on which Jesus Christ has founded His Church, with the promise that the "gates of hell shall not prevail against it." In view of the excitement which exists in consequence of un-ecclesiastical manifestations and movements against the decrees of the Council in several places, and which undoubtedly forms no small trial and danger to many souls, as well as considering the tremendous war which has been forced upon our German Fatherland, and which claims at the same time our intense interest and watchfulness, and which has already plunged innumerable families into sorrow and mourning, we cannot forbear from earnestly calling all the faithful to fervent prayer for the present great necessities of Church and State. Lift up, then, your hearts in faith and confidence to our Father in Heaven, Whose wise and loving Providence guides and rules everything, and whose Divine Son has promised most surely to hear us when we ask in His name.

'Pray also with faith and trust that this sanguinary war, by a complete triumph of the right cause, and a true and lasting peace, may quickly end. Pray for the wants of Holy Church, especially for all who err or hesitate in their faith, that they may have the grace of a firm, decided, and living faith. Pray for the Supreme Head of the Church, the holy Father, who most likely at this very moment is more than ever before in distress and embarrassment. Pray with confidence in the merits and infinite love of the Divine Heart of Jesus Christ, invoking the powerful intercession of the Immaculate Virgin Mother of God.

'And may the blessing of God Almighty descend upon you and remain with you all, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.—Amen.

'At the end of August, 1870.

- ✱ GREGORY, Archbishop of Munich.
- ✱ PAUL, Archbishop of Cologne.
- ✱ PETER JOSEPH, Bishop of Limburg.
- ✱ CHRISTOPHER FLORENTIUS, Bishop of Fulda.
- ✱ WILLIAM EMMANUEL, Bishop of Mayence.
- ✱ EDWARD JAMES, Bishop of Hildesheim.
- ✱ CONRAD, Bishop of Paderborn.
- ✱ JOHN, Bishop of Kulm.
- ✱ IGNATIUS, Bishop of Ratisbon.

- ✧ PANCRA TIUS, Bishop of Augsburg.
 - ✧ FRANCIS LEOPOLD, Bishop of Eichstadt.
 - ✧ MATTHIAS, Bishop of Treves.
 - ✧ PHILIP, Bishop of Ermland.
 - ✧ LOTHAR, Bishop of Leuka *in partibus*, Administrator of the Archbishopric of Friburg.
 - ✧ ADOLPHUS, Bishop of Agathonopolis *in partibus*, Chaplain in Chief of the Forces.
 - ✧ BERNARD BRINKMANN, Vicar-Capitular and Bishop Elect of Münster.
- CONRAD REITHA, Bishop Elect of Speyer.'

GENERAL INDEX.

NOTE.—i. refers to Pastoral Letter No. I. *The Centenary of St. Peter and the General Council*, pp. 1-141.

ii. refers to Pastoral Letter No. II. *The Œcumenical Council and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff*, pp. 1-151.

iii. refers to Pastoral Letter No. III. *The Vatican Council and its Definitions*, pp. 1-229.

ABO

ABOLITION of the state religion,
ii. 15

Acclamation, definition by, iii. 36. In
the Council of Chalcedon, iii. 37

Act of faith, iii. 46

Address of the Bishops to the Pope,
July 1, 1867, i. 30, 39, 120

Agatho, Pope St., iii. 84, 125

Aguirre, Cardinal, i. 52, 53

Aleuin, ii. 81

Alexander VIII., Pope, his Constitution
Inter multiplices of January 1691,
i. 45

Allegations of Protestant critics, i. 35

Allocation of the Sovereign Pontiff,
June 26, 1867, i. 28, 109

Alphonsus Liguori, St., iii. 63

Ambrosé, St., i. 14; iii. 79

Animosity of newspapers against the
Council, iii. 3

Anselm, Bishop of Havelburg, ii. 78

Anselm, St., ii. 77

Antonelli, letter of Cardinal, iii. 39

Antoninus, St., iii. 61

Apostles, the, primacy of St. Peter over,
iii. 55. Shared the plenitude of ju-
risdiction with St. Peter, 52

Apostolic authority of the Roman Pon-
tiff, iii. 57. Office of teaching, 49.

Tradition, 123

Apostolorum Limina, visitation of, i. 15

Appeal, none from the Roman Pontiff,
iii. 55

Aquinas, St. Thomas, ii. 73

Archbishop of Cologne, iii. 5, *note*. Of
Munich, letter of Pope Pius IX. to,
77

Archives of the Vatican Council, iii. 32,
56, *note*

Aristotle, his definition of science,
iii. 132

Arius, condemnation of, iii. 73

Assembling of the Bishops in 1867, i. 9

Assent of the Episcopate, iii. 92

Assistance, the Divine, promised to

BOU

Peter, iii. 57. Of the Holy Ghost,
106, 113

Auctorem Fidei, the Bull of Pius VI.,
i. 41, 49; iii. 76, 88

Augsburg Gazette, iii. 4, 6

Augustine, St., i. 14, 16, 27; ii. 26;
iii. 58, 71, 80, 106. The true doc-
trines of grace in, 71, 72

Augustinus of Jansenius, iii. 67, 73, 89

Authority, doctrinal, of the Roman Pon-
tiff, iii. 56. Divine, of the Church, 43

Avignon, the Sovereign Pontiff at, i. 15

BACON, Lord, his description of cer-
tain philosophers, iii. 135

Balaam, gift of prophecy in, iii. 85

Ballerini, *De vi et ratione Primatus*,
iii. 97

Bannez, O. P., Dominic, iii. 61

Barrow on the Pope's supremacy, iii.
136

Bellarmino, Cardinal, i. 17, 21, 23, 76,
79; ii. 58; iii. 61

Benedict XIV., constitutions of, i. 15

Bernard, St., ii. 78

Bianchi, O. P., Raymond, *De constitu-
tione Monarchia Ecclesie*, iii. 101,
104, 111

Bishop Hay, iii. 151. Of Mayence, 4.
Milner, 151. Of Rottensburg, 6

Bishops, in an Œcumenical Council,
judges, i. 78. Witnesses, iii. 139.
Not deputies, 21. Of thirty nations,
25. A minority of, 107. Assem-
bling of the, i. 9. Answer of, to the
Sovereign Pontiff, 30

Bonaventure, St., ii. 75

Boniface VIII., ii. 72

Bossuet, his testimony on the doctrine
of Infallibility, i. 40, 42, *note*

Bottalla, S. J., Father, on the Supreme
Authority of the Pope, ii. 94, *note*

Bouix, *De Papa et de Concilio Œcu-
menico*, ii. 98, 105

BRA

DEC

- Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 73
 Bramhall's 'Schism Guarded,' iii. 136
 Brancatus, i. 25, 26, 71
 Brief *Paternæ Charitatis* of Innocent XI., April 1682, i. 45
 Bull *Auctorem Fidei* of Pius VI., i. 41, 49; iii. 76, 88. *Inter cunctos* of Martin V., 76. Of indiction of the Council, ii. 7
 Butler, Rev. Alban, iii. 148
 Bzovius, O. P., Abraham, A.D. 1619, iii. 98
- CÆSARISM**, ii. 94
 Caiaphas, gift of prophecy in, iii. 85
 Campian, S. J., F. Edmund, his answer to Whitaker, iii. 144
 Canus, O. P., Melchior, iii. 63, 122
 Cappellari, Mauro, 'Il Trionfo della Santa Sede,' iii. 101
 Cardinal Aguirre, i. 52, 53. Antonelli, iii. 39, 173. Bellarmine, i. 17, 21, 23, 76, 79; ii. 58; iii. 61. Gerdil, iii. 72. Orsi, i. 26, 58, 68, 71, 74; iii. 224. Pacca, iii. 30. Pallavicini, 24. Pole, 142. Sfondrati, 104. Toletus, 94. Turrecremata or Torquemada, 70
 Cardinal Presidents of the Council, iii. 33, 34
 Caroline Books, ii. 82
Cathedra Petri, i. 24; iii. 58
 Catholicism, a blunder, i. 39
Ce qui se passe au Concile, a libel, iii. 33
 Censures, the greater and less, iii. 67, 74, 75, 89
 Centenary of 1867, its moral significance, i. 4. And the Council of Trent, 12
 Centralisation, ii. 37
 Cerboni, O. P., *De Jure et Legum disciplina*, iii. 110
 Chapters, the three, condemnation of, iii. 67, 73
 Character of the Vatican Council, iii. 42
Charisma of the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, ii. 61; iii. 56, 89, 97
 Charter of the Church, iii. 59
 Church, authority of, iii. 43, 87, 122, 131. Body of, 51. Head of, 51. The infallible motive of credibility, 48, 50. Charter of, 59. Divine legation of, 50. A divine witness, 48, 51, 123. *Magisterium* of, 87, 122,

131. Office of, 50. Teacher of all nations, 66. Teacher of truth, 47. Tradition of, 124. Unity of faith and communion in, 55. Two elements of the discipline of, i. 81
 Civilisation of old Catholic countries, iii. 25
 Clement V., Pope, ii. 72. VI., Pope, ii. 74; iii. 101. VII., Pope, ii. 72. XI., Pope, iii. 71
 Condemnation of error, duty of, iii. 77. Of Gallicanism, i. 45, 47, 49
 Consent of the Episcopate, i. 93
 Constitution, *De Fide Catholica*, iii. 43-53, 182, 192. *De Ecclesia*, 54, 204, 211. *Inter multiplices* of Alexander VIII., January 1691, i. 47
 Conversion of Protestants, ii. 35
 Council of Nice, the First Œcumenical, iii. 15, 73. Of Ephesus, the Third Œcumenical, 73. Of Chalcedon, the Fourth ditto, ii. 87; iii. 37, 84. Of Constantinople (second), the Fifth ditto, 67, 73. Of Constantinople (third), the Sixth ditto, ii. 84; iii. 38, 84. Of Nicæa (second), the Seventh ditto, ii. 82. Of Constantinople (fourth), the Eighth ditto, ii. 81; iii. 56. Of Lyons (second), the Fourteenth ditto, i. 74; ii. 75; iii. 56, 60, 87. Of Vienne, the Fifteenth ditto, i. 75. Of Constance, ii. 40, 69, 94, 95, 99; iii. 75. Of Florence, the Sixteenth ditto, i. 74; ii. 28, 33, 68, 94, 99; iii. 56. Of Lateran (fifth), the Seventeenth ditto, ii. 69. Of Trent, the Eighteenth ditto, i. 75, 88, 90; ii. 6, 35, 69; iii. 15, 41, 60, 68
 Council of the Vatican, the Nineteenth Œcumenical, the reasons for convoking it, i. 69. And the supreme Pontiff, 71. Not a parliament, iii. 17, 21. Cannot be written down, 28. Character of, 42. Alleged indifference to, 13, 17. Liberty of, 28, 29, 30, 32
 Credibility, motive of, ii. 125
 Creed of Pope Pius IV., i. 89
 Criticism, historical, ii. 125, 126
 Cyprian, St., i. 13, 27; iii. 58, 70
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., iii. 80
- DECREES EX CATHEDRA**, i. 59.
 Definition, two senses of the word, iii. 87. Of faith, 39. History of, 41. Of the Roman Pontiff irreform-

DEP

- able, 55, 57. Rectifications of partial errors, 41. Value of, 57
 Deposit of faith, iii. 60, 77, 113. Custody of, 67
 Doctor of the Universal Church, i. 34.
 Doctrine of faith and morals, iii. 87.
 Documents of the Centenary of 1867, i. 107. Of the Vatican Council of 1870, iii. 164
 Döllinger, Dr., iii. 4
 Dominic, family of St., ii. 122
 Duty of condemnation of error, iii. 77
 Duval of the Sorbonne, i. 63

- E**AST, reunion with the, ii. 29, 34
Ecclesia Docens, the Episcopate, together with Peter, i. 77; iii. 106, 113, 123, 139. Cannot be dissolved, 106
Ecclesia Discens, the faithful, iii. 107, 113
 Encyclical of 1864, i. 37, 55
 England, the old and the new, ii. 9.
 The Catholic Church in, 11
 Episcopate, the *ecclesia docens*, iii. 106.
 How distinct from the Roman Pontiff, 43. Without its head not infallible, 90
 Equilibrium of mind and will, ii. 27, 124
 Error, duty of condemnation of, iii. 77
 Evidence of the first six General Councils, i. 73. Of revelation, iii. 97
Ex Cathedra decrees, i. 59; ii. 61.
 Meaning of, iii. 57, 58, 89
 Excommunication, iii. 19

- F** AITH, act of, iii. 46; deposit of, 60, 77. The ordinary medium of, i. 57. Duty of, iii. 47. Illuminated, 49. Motive of, 46. Obedience of, 46. Rule of, 122. Stability in, 56. And morals, 57, 60, 86. And reason, 49. And revelation, 41, 47. And unbelief, 43. And science, 49
 Fathers of the Church, iii. 120
 Fénelon, i. 42
 Ferré, Vincent, O. P., A.D. 1675, quoted, iii. 99
 Fisher, Cardinal, against Luther, iii. 142
 Fiume, Ignatius de, Bishop of Polignano, Naples, iii. 103
 Five points of the charter of the Church, iii. 59
 France, the Church of to-day in, i. 53.
 The Council in, ii. 17

HOM

- Franzelin, S. J., i. 61
 Frohschammer, i. 78
 Fulda, the German Bishops at, iii. 120, 153

- G** AËTA, the Sovereign Pontiff at, i. 15;
 Gallicanism, i. 41, 45, 47; ii. 53, 55; iii. 35, 140, 149
 Gallicans capable of sacramental absolution, i. 51
 Gatti, Vincent, O. P., Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, iii. 100
 Gerdil, Cardinal, i. 34; iii. 72
 Gérin, M., *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682*, ii. 108, etc.
 Gerson, ii. 64, 70, 96, 105
 Gnosticism, modern, iii. 135, 138
 Godard, M. l'Abbé, *Les Principes de '89 et la Doctrine Catholique*, ii. 22
 Gonzalez, *De Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*, i. 61; ii. 92
 Governments, representations of, iii. 19.
 And the Council, ii. 127
 Grace, order of, i. 83. True doctrines of, iii. 71, 72. Of stability in faith, 56
 Gravina, Dominic, O. P., A.D. 1620, quoted, iii. 99
 Gregory de Valentia, i. 59; iii. 61, 63, 132
 Gregory Nazianzen, St., iii. 70
 Gregory XVI., Pope, iii. 101

- H** ARDING, Thomas, D.D., quotation from, iii. 143
 Hay, Bishop, iii. 151
 Hefele, Bishop of Rottensburg, iii. 6
 Henry VIII. of England, ii. 52
 Henrician heresy, the, ii. 81
 Heresy, history of, iii. 41. Progress of, 42. And the tradition of the Church, 123. Partial aberration from truth, 41. Condemned by the Council of Trent, 43
 Hermes, i. 78
 Hervaeus Natalis, O. P., A.D. 1323, quoted, iii. 63
 History, of the Church, iii. 123. Difficulties of human, 119. Judge in matters of, 115. 'Scientific,' 114, 116, 125, 128. Truths of, 68
 Holy Ghost, assistance of the, iii. 113.
 Illuminating the intelligence, 47
 Homily of Pius IX., June 29, 1867, i. 116

HON

Honorius, Pope, ii. 85, 91, 92, 132; iii. 117, 122, 126, 129, 223

Hormisdas, Pope, ii. 86; iii. 69

Hungary, plenary council of, in 1686, i. 45

Huss and Wickliffe, iii. 75

IBAS, chapter of, iii. 73

Immaculate Conception, i. 8; ii. 43, 48, 50, 63, 65

Impeccability and Infallibility, iii. 85

Imperialism, ii. 53, 94

Incarnation, the living witness of the, iii. 47. Christendom resting on the, i. 83

Indiction of the Council, ii. 7

Indifference of the world to the Council, ii. 5, 17; iii. 13, 17, 157

Infallibility of God, ii. 30; iii. 46

— of the Church, three classes of evidence for, i. 21. Active and Passive, 23. The supreme office of teaching and ruling, 26. The ordinary medium of Divine Faith, 57. In matters opposed to revelation, iii. 66. In matters not revealed, 87. Extension of the, 78. In the custody of the Deposit of Faith, 67. In the minor censures, 74. Limits of the, 78. Object of, 66

— of the Roman Pontiff, i. 17, 21, 23, 26, 29. Denial of, iii. 27, 35. Efficient cause of, 79. Limitation of, 58, 86. Object of, 59. Intrinsic, 91. How personal, 94, 96, 103, 104, 112, 150. How independent, 97, 107, 112. How absolute, 97, 113. How separate, 98, 100, 105, 107, 113. *Vide* under **MAGISTERIUM**

Innocent II., Pope, ii. 78. X., Pope, 102. XII., i. 48

Inspiration and infallibility, iii. 85

Intellect and will, iii. 47

Interest in regard to the Council, iii. 10

Ireland, i. 83

Irreformable, meaning of, iii. 40. 57, 91

JANSENISTS, ii. 8, 57, 65; iii. 69, 73
Jansenius, condemnation of the 'Augustinus' of, i. 78; ii. 102, 105, 143; iii. 67

Janus, 'The Pope and the Council,' by, ii. 93; iii. 4. On the freedom of the Council, 11. Distributed by Governments, 136. Discovery of plot by,

MAT

37. How regarded, 114. Essentially heretical, 128, 135

Jerome, St., i. 27; ii. 72, 85; iii. 141

Jewell, Anglican Protestantism of, iii. 127, 136

Judge, supreme, over all the Church, iii. 55

Judgments, dogmatic, iii. 88

Jurisdiction, primacy of, in Peter and his successors, iii. 55, 56

Justin Martyr, St., iii. 116

KAUNITZ, spirit of, i. 101

Kellison, Matthew, D.D., 'Survey of the New Religion,' by, iii. 145

Ketteler, Bishop Von, of Mayence, iii. 4

Keys of jurisdiction and knowledge, i. 24; ii. 94

Knowledge, two orders of, iii. 48. Instrument of, 49. Key of, i. 24; ii. 94

'**L**A dernière Heure du Concile,' iii. 33
Lamennais, i. 78

Latrocinium of Ephesus, iii. 40

Launoy condemned, iii. 71

Leo, St., the Great. i. 14, 20, 29, 67, 114; ii. 81, 83, 88, 157; iii. 81, 83

Libels on the Council, iii. 33

Liberius, Pope, iii. 118

Liberty of the Council, 28, 30, 32

Limina Apostolorum, visitation of, i. 15

Literature of the day, iii. 46

Loqui ex cathedra, iii. 57

Louis XIV. of France, ii. 52

Lupoli, i. 19

Luther, ii. 99; iii. 115, 141, 142

MACEDO, O. S. F., *Tessera Romana*, i. 64

Magdeburg Centuriators, iii. 137

Magisterium, or teaching authority, of the Church, ii. 61, 73; iii. 87, 122, 131. Of the Roman Pontiff, 87, 89, 113

Majority, the, in the Council, iii. 12, 18, 28, 30

Marca, Peter de, i. 53

Marchese, Dominic, O. P., A.D. 1680, Bishop of Pozzuoli, iii. 98, 100

Maret, Mgr., Bishop of Sura, Du Concile Général, ii. 139

Martin V., Pope, his Bull *Inter cunctos*, iii. 76

Materialism, iii. 50

MAT

Matrimony, sacrament of, ii. 129
 Mayence, Bishop of, iii. 4
 Minority in the Council, iii. 12, 18, 28, 30
 Misunderstandings, popular, i. 77
 Monarchy of the Roman Pontiff, ii. 147, 148
 Monitum of the Roman Pontiff, iii. 51
 Morals, faith and, iii. 57, 60, 86
 More, Sir Thomas, against Luther, iii. 141
 Moses, the chair of, iii. 58
 Motive of faith, iii. 46
 Munich, Theological Faculty of, ii. 131
 Murray, Dr., of Maynooth, iii. 75
 Muzzarelli, quoted, i. 72 ; iii. 101

NATIONALISM, i. 41 ; ii. 98, 116

note

Nations, thirty, represented at the Vatican Council, iii. 25
 Naturalism, iii. 44
 Nestorius, condemnation of, iii. 73
 Newspapers at the time of the Centenary, i. 10. Animosity of, to the Council, iii. 3
 Nicolas I., Pope, iii. 69
 Nine phases of attack against the definition, iii. 38
 Nonconformists, i. 97

O

BEDIENCE, civil, i. 97. Of faith, iii. 46
 Object of the Infallibility of the Church, iii. 66. Of the Roman Pontiff, 59
 Ockam, ii. 64 ; iii. 132
 Œcumenicity of the Council, ii. 7
 Opinion, public, hostile to the Catholic religion, iii. 25, 30 *note*
 Optatus, St., i. 14. His use of the phrase *Cathedra Petri*, iii. 58
 Order of faith, iii. 49. Of nature, 45, 49. Of truth, i. 67 ; iii. 45. The supernatural in, ii. 10
 Oriental Bishops, ii. 8
 Orsi, Cardinal, i. 26, 58, 68, 71, 74
 Osma, Peter de, ii. 66, 91, 99

PACCA, Cardinal, iii. 30 *note*
 Pallavicini, Cardinal, iii. 24
 Paolo Sarpi, iii. 3
 Patriarchs, i. 94
 Paul, St., at Corinth, ii. 11
 Peccatum Philosophicum, ii. 144
 Pelagianism, ii. 63 ; iii. 71, 72

REV

Pelagius II., Pope, iii. 81
 Philipps, Du Droit Ecclesiastique, i. 54
 Pistoia, Synod of, iii. 88
 Pius IV., Pope, creed of, i. 89. VI., his Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, i. 41, 49 ; iii. 76, 88. VII., imprisonment of, 30. IX., calumnies against, 10, 34, 156. Monitum of, 51. His letter to the Archbishop of Munich, 77
 Plowden, Rev. Charles, iii. 149
 Poland, i. 83
 Pole, Cardinal, iii. 142
 Pombal, i. 101
 Pontiff, the Roman, how distinct from the Episcopate, iii. 113. *Magisterium* of, ii. 73 ; iii. 87, 89, 113. Irreformable definitions of, 55, 57. Supreme Jurisdiction, 55
 Praxis of the Church, ii. 64
 Prerogatives of St. Peter, i. 17
 Primacy, a privilege attaching to the person of Peter and his successors, iii. 103. *Charisma* of the, 141. Of jurisdiction, 55. Three consequences of, 55, 56
 Principles of 1789, ii. 17, 19, 23
 Privilege, meaning of, iii. 103
 Privilegium Petri, ii. 141
 Prosper, St., i. 20
 Protestantism, Anglican, iii. 127. Lutheran, 127
 Protestants, conversion of, ii. 35
 Public opinion hostile to the Catholic religion, iii. 25

QUANTA CURA, the Encyclical, i. 34

Quedlinburg, Synod of, ii. 80
 Quirinus, letters on the Council by, iii. 4, 119

RATIONALISM, ii. 124 ; iii. 43, 44

Raynaud, Theophilus, i. 66 ; ii. 71, 142
 Reason and faith, iii. 49
 Reformation, heresies of the, i. 89 ; ii. 6, 100 ; iii. 43
 Regalism, ii. 53
 Reunion with the East, ii. 29, 34
 Revelation, the communication of supernatural truth, iii. 45. The Church the divine witness, teacher, and judge of, 123. Two orders of truth in, 45. And faith, 41. Of the supernatural order, 43. Man bound to believe, 46
 Revolution, ii. 129

ROC

- Rocaberti, Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia, i. 25 ; iii. 63, 70, 98, 111, 142
 Roskovány, Bishop of Neitra, De Romano Pontifice, i. 46, 48 ; ii. 66, 100, 102
 Rule of faith, iii. 121

SACRAMENTUM GRAECORUM, ii. 76

- Saint Alphonsus Liguori, iii. 63. Ambrose, i. 14 ; iii. 79. Anselm, ii. 77. Antoninus, iii. 61. Augustine, i. 14, 16, 27 ; ii. 26, 104 ; iii. 58, 71, 80, 106. Cyprian, i. 13, 22 ; iii. 58, 70. Cyril of Alexandria, iii. 80. Gelasius, iii. 71, 81. Gregory the Great, iii. 82. Gregory Nazianzen, iii. 70. Irenaeus, i. 19, 27 ; ii. 91 ; iii. 214. Jerome, i. 27 ; ii. 72, 85 ; iii. 141. John Chrysostom, iii. 80, 123. Leo the Great, i. 20, 29, 71, 78 ; ii. 87 ; iii. 81, 83, 211, 213. Thomas Aquinas, ii. 73 ; iii. 88, 132. Thomas of Canterbury, ii. 14, 52, 77. Vitalian, iii. 83
 Salutation of the Bishops, i. 30, 39, 120
 Sanders, Nicolas, D.D., iii. 145
 Sarpi, Paolo, iii. 3
 Scavini, i. 51
 Schrader, F. Clement, S. J., De Unitate Romana, i. 26, 28 ; ii. 142
 Science, definition of, iii. 131, 132. And faith, 49. And historical certainty, ii. 126
 Secret, the Pontifical, ii. 26
 Semipelagianism, iii. 71, 72
 Sessions of the Council, iii. 24
 Sfondrati, Cardinal, O.S.B., A.D. 1680, i. 48, 59 ; iii. 104
 Six points of the definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, iii. 57
 Soto, Peter, O.P., A.D. 1557, quoted, iii. 101
 Southwell, author of *Regula viva seu Analysis Fidei*, iii. 147
 Stapleton, Thomas, D.D., i. 19 ; iii. 71
 States, the United, i. 102 ; iii. 32
 Suarez, i. 61, 63 ; iii. 62
 Supernatural order, the, iii. 42. Present in the world, 50
 Sylvius, i. 62
 Synod of Pistoia, iii. 88. Of Quedlinburg, ii. 80

ZOS

- TEMPORAL POWER, downfall of the, i. 38 ; ii. 128 ; iii. 156
 Tertullian, i. 27 ; iii. 119
 Teutonic element, i. 35, 37
 Theodore, i. 27
 Theology how a science, ii. 126 ; iii. 133. Technical language of, iii. 103
Theses Damnae, ii. 51, 143 ; iii. 75
 Thirty nations, Bishops of, i. 10 ; iii. 25
 Thomas Aquinas, St., ii. 73 ; iii. 88, 132
 Thorndike, 'Epilogue' of, iii. 136
 Tradition, Apostolic, iii. 109, 123. Of the faith, 139
 Truth, two orders of, iii. 45. The guardian of, 47. Of human history, 63
 Tudors, legislation of the, ii. 14
 Turrecremata or Torquemada, Cardinal, i. 71 ; iii. 70

'UBI PETRUS IBI ECCLESIA,' ii. 49

- Ultramontanism, i. 35, 39 ; ii. 45, 67, 80, 111, 117 ; iii. 13, 35
 Unanimity of the Council, iii. 18, 26
 Universal Doctor, office of, iii. 109
 Universality of the mission of the Church, iii. 59
 United States, the, i. 102 ; iii. 32
 Unity, strivings for, ii. 9, 16

VASQUEZ, iii. 132

- Veracity of God, iii. 46
 Vicars, Apostolic, iii. 139
 Vigilus, Pope, iii. 118 *note*. Vigilius Dormitans of Crakenthorp, 136
 Visitation of the *Limina Apostolorum*, i. 15
 Vitalian, Pope St., iii. 83
 Vulgate, the, iii. 68

WICKLIFFE, iii. 75

- Will and intellect, iii. 47. And reason, 59
 Witness of the Church, ii. 125
 World, indifference of, to the Council, iii. 13, 17. Interest of, in the Council, 10. Materialism of, 50

ZACCARIA, *Antifebronius*, i. 42, 45 ; ii. 104

- Zosimus, Pope St., letter of, ii. 85, 103

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INDEX.

<i>Action's</i> Modern Cookery.....	40	<i>Burke's</i> Vicissitudes of Families.....	8
<i>Aird's</i> Blackstone Economised	39	<i>Busk's</i> Folk-lore of Rome	35
<i>Airy's</i> Hebrew Scriptures	29	— Valleys of Tirol	33
Alpine Club Map of Switzerland	34		
Alpine Guide (The)	34		
<i>Amos's</i> Jurisprudence	10		
— Primer of the Constitution.....	10	Cabinet Lawyer.....	40
<i>Anderson's</i> Strength of Materials	20	<i>Campbell's</i> Norway	35
<i>Armstrong's</i> Organic Chemistry	20	<i>Cates's</i> Biographical Dictionary.....	8
<i>Arnold's</i> (Dr.) Christian Life	29	— and <i>Woodward's</i> Encyclopædia ...	5
— Lectures on Modern History	2	Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths ...	14
— Miscellaneous Works	13	<i>Chesney's</i> Indian Polity	3
— School Sermons	29	— Modern Military Biography.....	4
— Sermons	29	— Waterloo Campaign	3
— (T.) Manual of English Literature	12	<i>Codrington's</i> Life and Letters	7
Atherstone Priory.....	36	<i>Colenso</i> on Moabite Stone &c.	32
Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson ...	14	—'s Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. ...	32
<i>Ayre's</i> Treasury of Bible Knowledge	39	<i>Collier's</i> Demosthenes on the Crown	13
		Commonplace Philosopher in Town and	
		Country, by A. K. H. B.	14
<i>Bacon's</i> Essays, by <i>Whately</i>	11	<i>Comte's</i> Positive Polity	8
— Life and Letters, by <i>Spedding</i> ...	11	<i>Congreve's</i> Essays.....	9
— Works	10	— Politics of Aristotle	11
<i>Bain's</i> Mental and Moral Science.....	12	<i>Conington's</i> Translation of Virgil's <i>Æneid</i> ...	37
— on the Senses and Intellect	12	— Miscellaneous Writings.....	13
— Emotions and Will.....	12	<i>Contanseau's</i> Two French Dictionaries ...	15
<i>Baker's</i> Two Works on Ceylon	34	<i>Conybeare and Howson's</i> Life and Epistles	
<i>Ball's</i> Guide to the Central Alps	34	of St. Paul.....	30
— Guide to the Western Alps.....	35	<i>Corneille's</i> Le Cid	36
— Guide to the Eastern Alps	34	Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit... ..	14
<i>Bancroft's</i> Native Races of the Pacific.....	23	<i>Cox's</i> (G. W.) Aryan Mythology	4
<i>Barry</i> on Railway Appliances	20	— Crusades	6
<i>Becker's</i> Charicles and Gallus.....	35	— History of Greece	4
<i>Black's</i> Treatise on Brewing	40	— General History of Greece	4
<i>Blackley's</i> German-English Dictionary.....	16	— School ditto	4
<i>Blaine's</i> Rural Sports	37	— Tale of the Great Persian	
<i>Bloxam's</i> Metals	20	War.....	4
<i>Boulton</i> on 39 Articles.....	29	— Tales of Ancient Greece ...	36
<i>Bourne's</i> Catechism of the Steam Engine .	27	<i>Crawley's</i> Thucydides	4
— Handbook of Steam Engine.....	27	<i>Creighton's</i> Age of Elizabeth	6
— Treatise on the Steam Engine	27	<i>Cresy's</i> Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering	27
— Improvements in the same.....	27	Critical Essays of a Country Parson.....	14
<i>Bowdler's</i> Family <i>Shakspeare</i>	37	<i>Crookes's</i> Chemical Analysis	25
<i>Bramley-Moore's</i> Six Sisters of the Valley .	36	— Dyeing and Calico-printing.....	28
<i>Brand's</i> Dictionary of Science, Literature,		<i>Culley's</i> Handbook of Telegraphy.....	27
and Art	23		
<i>Brinkley's</i> Astronomy	12		
<i>Brown's</i> Exposition of the 39 Articles.....	29		
<i>Buckle's</i> History of Civilisation	3		
— Posthumous Remains	12	<i>Davidson's</i> Introduction to the New Tes-	
<i>Buckton's</i> Health in the House	24	tament.....	31
<i>Bull's</i> Hints to Mothers	40	<i>D'Aubigné's</i> Reformation	31
— Maternal Management of Children.	40	<i>De Caisne and Le Maouf's</i> Botany	24
Burgomaster's Family (The)	34	<i>De Morgan's</i> Paradoxes	13
<i>Burke's</i> Rise of Great Families	8	<i>De Tocqueville's</i> Democracy in America... ..	9
		<i>Disraeli's</i> Lord George Bentinck	8

<i>Disraeli's</i> Novels and Tales	35
<i>Dobson</i> on the Ox	38
<i>Dove's</i> Law of Storms	18
<i>Doyle's</i> (R.) Fairyland	25
<i>Eastlake's</i> Hints on Household Taste.....	26
<i>Edwards's</i> Rambles among the Dolomites	34
— Nile	32
Elements of Botany.....	23
<i>Ellicott's</i> Commentary on Ephesians	30
— Galatians	30
— Pastoral Epist.	30
— Philippians, &c.	30
— Thessalonians .	30
— Lectures on Life of Christ	29
Elsa : a Tale of the Tyrolean Alps	36
<i>Evans' (J.)</i> Ancient Stone Implements ..	23
— (A. J.) Bosnia	33
<i>Ewald's</i> History of Israel	30
— Antiquities of Israel.....	31
<i>Fairbairn's</i> Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building... ..	27
— Information for Engineers.....	27
— Life	7
— Treatise on Mills and Millwork	27
<i>Farrar's</i> Chapters on Language	13
— Families of Speech	13
<i>Fitzwygram</i> on Horses and Stables.....	38
<i>Forbes's</i> Two Years in Fiji.....	33
<i>Francis's</i> Fishing Book	37
<i>Freeman's</i> Historical Geography of Europe	6
<i>Freshfield's</i> Italian Alps	33
<i>Froude's</i> English in Ireland	2
— History of England	2
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<i>Gairdner's</i> Houses of Lancaster and York	6
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— Natural Philosophy	19
<i>Gardiner's</i> Buckingham and Charles	3
— Thirty Years' War	6
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German Home Life	13
<i>Gibson's</i> Religion and Science	29
<i>Gilbert & Churchill's</i> Dolomites	34
<i>Girdlestone's</i> Bible Synonyms.....	29
<i>Goodeve's</i> Mechanics.....	20
— Mechanism	20
<i>Grant's</i> Ethics of Aristotle	11
Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson.....	14
<i>Greville's</i> Journal	2
<i>Griffin's</i> Algebra and Trigonometry.....	20
<i>Grohman's</i> Tyrol and the Tyrolese	32
<i>Grove</i> (Sir W. R.) on Correlation of Physical Forces.....	19
— (F. C.) The Frosty Caucasus	32
<i>Gwill's</i> Encyclopædia of Architecture.....	26
<i>Harrison's</i> Order and Progress.....	9
<i>Hartley</i> on the Air	19
<i>Hartwig's</i> Aerial World	22
— Polar World	22

<i>Hartwig's</i> Sea and its Living Wonders ...	22
— Subterranean World.....	22
— Tropical World	22
<i>Haughton's</i> Animal Mechanics	20
<i>Hayward's</i> Biographical and Critical Essays	7
<i>Heathcote's</i> Fen and Mere	28
<i>Heine's</i> Life and Works, by Stigand	7
<i>Helmholtz</i> on Tone	23
<i>Helmholtz's</i> Scientific Lectures	19
<i>Helmstey's</i> Trees, Shrubs, and Herbaceous Plants	24
<i>Herschel's</i> Outlines of Astronomy	18
<i>Hinchliff's</i> Over the Sea and Far Away ...	33
<i>Holland's</i> Fragmentary Papers.....	21
<i>Holms</i> on the Army.....	4
<i>Hullah's</i> History of Modern Music	23
— Transition Period	23
<i>Hume's</i> Essays	12
— Treatise on Human Nature.....	12
<i>Ilne's</i> History of Rome	5
Indian Alps	32
<i>Ingelow's</i> Poems	37
<i>Jameson's</i> Legends of Saints and Martyrs .	26
— Legends of the Madonna.....	26
— Legends of the Monastic Orders	26
— Legends of the Saviour.....	26
<i>Jelf</i> on Confession	30
<i>Jenkin's</i> Electricity and Magnetism.....	20
<i>Ferram's</i> Lycidas of Milton	35
<i>Ferrol's</i> Life of Napoleon	2
<i>Johnston's</i> Geographical Dictionary.....	17
<i>Jukes's</i> Types of Genesis	31
— on Second Death	31
<i>Kalisch's</i> Commentary on the Bible	30
<i>Keith's</i> Evidence of Prophecy	30
<i>Kerl's</i> Metallurgy, by Crookes and Röhrig. ..	27
<i>Kingsley's</i> American Lectures	13
<i>Kirby and Spence's</i> Entomology	21
<i>Kirkman's</i> Philosophy	11
<i>Knatchbull-Hugessen's</i> Whispers from Fairy-Land	35
— Higgledy-Piggledy	35
<i>Lamartine's</i> Toussaint Louverture	36
Landscapes, Churches, &c. by A. K. H. B. ..	14
<i>Lang's</i> Ballads and Lyrics	36
<i>Latham's</i> English Dictionary.....	15
— Handbook of the English Language.....	15
<i>Laughton's</i> Nautical Surveying	19
<i>Lawrence</i> on Rocks	22
<i>Lecky's</i> History of European Morals.....	5
— Rationalism	5
— Leaders of Public Opinion.....	8
<i>Lee's</i> Kesslerloch	22
<i>Lefroy's</i> Bermudas	33
Leisure Hours in Town, by A. K. H. B....	14
Lessons of Middle Age, by A. K. H. B....	14
<i>Leves's</i> Biographical History of Philosophy ..	6

<i>Lewis</i> on Authority	12	<i>Mill's</i> Dissertations and Discussions	1
<i>Liddell</i> and <i>Scott's</i> Greek-English Lexicons	16	— Essays on Religion &c.	2
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<i>Lloyd's</i> Magnetism	21	— System of Logic	4
— Wave-Theory of Light	21	— Political Economy	5
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— German Dictionary ...	15	<i>Miller's</i> Elements of Chemistry	2
— (W.) Edward the Third.....	2	— Inorganic Chemistry.....	2
— Lectures on History of		<i>Minto's</i> (Lord) Life and Letters.....	2
— England	2	<i>Mitchell's</i> Manual of Assaying	2
— Old and New St. Paul's	26	Modern Novelist's Library	3
<i>Loudon's</i> Encyclopædia of Agriculture ...	28	<i>Monsell's</i> 'Spiritual Songs'	3
— Gardening.....	28	<i>Moore's</i> Irish Melodies, illustrated	2
— Plants.....	24	<i>Morant's</i> Game Preservers	2
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— sophy	10	— St. John	3
— Theory and Practice of Banking	39	<i>Owen's</i> Comparative Anatomy and Physio-	
— Elements of Banking.....	39	— logy of Vertebrate Animals	2
<i>Mademoiselle Mori</i>	36		
<i>Malel's</i> Annals of the Road	37	<i>Pack's</i> Guide to the Pyrenees	3
<i>Malleson's</i> Genoese Studies	3	<i>Paget's</i> Naval Powers	2
— Native States of India.....	3	<i>Pattison's</i> Casaubon.....	2
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— Life of Havelock	8	<i>Piercc's</i> Chess Problems	4
<i>Martineau's</i> Christian Life.....	32	<i>Plunket's</i> Travels in the Alps.....	3
— Hymns.....	31	<i>Pole's</i> Game of Whist	4
<i>Maunder's</i> Biographical Treasury.....	39	<i>Prece & Sivewright's</i> Telegraphy.....	2
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— Treasury of Knowledge	39	— Moon	17
— Treasury of Natural History ..	39	— Orbs around Us	18
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— History of England	2	— Scientific Essays (New Series) ...	21
<i>Melville's</i> Digby Grand	36	— Sun	17
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— Gladiators	36	— Two Star Atlases.....	18
— Good for Nothing	36	— Universe	17
— Holmby House	36	Public Schools Atlas of Ancient Geography ..	17
— Interpreter	36	— Atlas of Modern Geography ..	17
— Kate Coventry	36	— Manual of Modern Geo-	
— Queens Maries	36	— graphy	17
<i>Menzies' Forest Trees and Woodland</i>			
— Scenery	24	<i>Rawlinson's</i> Parthia.....	5
<i>Merivale's</i> Fall of the Roman Republic ..	5	— Sassanians	5
— General History of Rome	4	Recreations of a Country Parson	14
— Romans under the Empire	4	<i>Redgrave's</i> Dictionary of Artists	25
<i>Merrifield's</i> Arithmetic and Mensuration... ..	20	<i>Reilly's</i> Map of Mont Blanc	34
<i>Miles</i> on Horse's Foot and Horse Shoeing ..	38	— Monte Rosa	34
— on Horse's Teeth and Stables.....	38	<i>Resesby's</i> Memoirs	8
<i>Mill</i> (J.) on the Mind	10		
— (J. S.) on Liberty.....	9		
— on Representative Government ..	9		
— Utilitarianism.....	9		
— Autobiography	7		

<i>Reynardson's</i> Down the Road	37
<i>Rich's</i> Dictionary of Antiquities	15
<i>River's</i> Rose Amateur's Guide	23
<i>Rogers's</i> Eclipse of Faith.....	30
Defence of Eclipse of Faith	30
Essays.....	9
<i>Rogel's</i> Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases	15
<i>Ronald's</i> Fly-Fisher's Entomology	38
<i>Roscoe's</i> Outlines of Civil Procedure.....	10
<i>Rothschild's</i> Israelites	30
<i>Russell's</i> Recollections and Suggestions ...	2

<i>Sanders's</i> Justinian's Institutes	10
<i>Savile</i> on Apparitions.....	13
on Primitive Faith	30
<i>Schellen's</i> Spectrum Analysis	19
<i>Scott's</i> Lectures on the Fine Arts	25
Poems	25
Papers on Civil Engineering	28
<i>Seaside</i> Musing, by A. K. H. B.	14
<i>Seebohm's</i> Oxford Reformers of 1498.....	4
Protestant Revolution	6
<i>Sewell's</i> Questions of the Day	31
Preparation for Communion	31
Stories and Tales	36
Thoughts for the Age	31
History of France	3
<i>Shelley's</i> Workshop Appliances	20
<i>Short's</i> Church History	6
<i>Simpson's</i> Meeting the Sun.....	34
<i>Smith's</i> (Sydney) Essays	12
Wit and Wisdom	13
(Dr. R. A.) Air and Rain	19
<i>Southey's</i> Doctor	13
Poetical Works.....	37
<i>Stanley's</i> History of British Birds	22
<i>Stephen's</i> Ecclesiastical Biography.....	8
<i>Stockmar's</i> Memoirs	7
<i>Stonehenge</i> on the Dog	38
on the Greyhound	38
<i>Stoney</i> on Strains	28
Sunday Afternoons at the Parish Church of a University City, by A. K. H. B.	14
Supernatural Religion	32
<i>Swinbourne's</i> Picture Logic	11

<i>Taylor's</i> History of India	3
Manual of Ancient History	6
Manual of Modern History	6
(Jeremy) Works, edited by Eden.	31
Text-Books of Science.....	20
<i>Thomson's</i> Laws of Thought ..	11
<i>Thorpe's</i> Quantitative Analysis	20

<i>Thorpe and Muir's</i> Qualitative Analysis ...	20
<i>Todd</i> (A.) on Parliamentary Government...	2
<i>Trench's</i> Realities of Irish Life	13
<i>Trollope's</i> Barchester Towers.....	36
Warden	36
<i>Twiss's</i> Law of Nations	10
<i>Tyndall's</i> American Lectures on Light ...	20
Diamagnetism.....	20
Fragments of Science.....	20
Lectures on Electricity	21
Lectures on Light	21
Lectures on Sound.....	20
Heat a Mode of Motion	20
Molecular Physics.....	20

<i>Ueberweg's</i> System of Logic	11
<i>Ure's</i> Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines	27

<i>Voltaire's</i> Zaire.....	36
------------------------------	----

<i>Walker</i> on Whist	40
<i>Warburton's</i> Edward the Third	6
<i>Watson's</i> Geometry	20
<i>Watts's</i> Dictionary of Chemistry	25
<i>Webb's</i> Objects for Common Telescopes ...	18
<i>Weinhold's</i> Experimental Physics.....	19
<i>Wellington's</i> Life, by Gleig	8
<i>Whately's</i> English Synonymes	15
Logic	11
Rhetoric	11
<i>White and Riddle's</i> Latin Dictionaries ...	16
<i>Wilcocks's</i> Sea-Fisherman	38
<i>Williams's</i> Aristotle's Ethics.....	11
<i>Wood's</i> (T. G.) Bible Animals	22
Homes without Hands ...	21
Insects at Home	21
Insects Abroad.....	21
Out of Doors	22
Strange Dwellings	21
(J. T.) Ephesus	33
<i>Wyatt's</i> History of Prussia	3

<i>Yonge's</i> English-Greek Lexicons	16
Horace	37
<i>Youatt</i> on the Dog	38
on the Horse	38

<i>Zeller's</i> Plato.....	6
Socrates	5
Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics...	5
<i>Zimmer's</i> Life of Schopenhauer	7

